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ERROR ANALYSIS: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

Ananda Shrestha*

The Notion of Error

The phenomenon of words and sentences red-pencilled by language teachers while evaluating students' writings are commonly known as mistakes, errors, and slips. The presence of errors explains the students' inability to use appropriate grammatical structures, semantic categories and other linguistic units. It is a characteristic while acquiring another language at a particular stage of learning, and its eradication is the development of control over language elements.

At first, especially in the fifties and early sixties, errors were looked upon as evils which hindered the learning process and which had to be eradicated. From the sixties to the seventies, however, there has been a gradual but definite change in the attitude of language teaching specialists towards errors. The current view suggests that errors should not be looked upon as problems to be overcome, but rather as normal and inevitable strategies that language learner's use. Linguists today believe that a learner errs because he is evolving a language system, that he is always formulating and discarding hypotheses and is constantly testing his knowledge of the language against the data he encounters. Researchers have reached the conclusion that errors are an essential part of the learning process, that they show evidence of a system and are not random as is generally supposed.

With the change in attitude towards errors, the emphasis of error analysis also underwent modification. Until the sixties, the main focus of the analyst was on the actual error, that is the 'product'. Now the emphasis has shifted from the product to the 'process' behind it. This shift from 'product' to 'process' is significant because a systematic analysis of errors will (i) tell the teacher how much of the target language the learner knows and what still remains for him to learn; (ii) It will give researchers evidence of how language is learned or acquired and (iii) It will be helpful to the learner himself because it will help him test his hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning.

Errors and Mistakes

The terms 'error' and 'mistake' according to most dictionaries are synonymous, but in error analysis, it is convenient to reserve the term 'mistake' for something rather different. Corder (1967: 25) says it will be useful to refer to errors of performance as

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'mistakes' which is not significant to the language learning process, and reserve the term 'error' for the systematic errors of the learner from which his knowledge of the language to date can be reconstructed. He draws a careful distinction between regular and systematic erroneous utterances and occasional 'lapses' and 'slips' which are not systematic and which the speaker can more or less readily correct. These slips of the tongue or pen which a speaker can readily correct are in error analysis called 'mistakes' and are of no interest to the error analyst, as they tell nothing about the true state of the learner's knowledge. It is only errors (systematic errors) that deserve attention. Some typical examples of mistakes are:

- (a) "Its a bit - it isn't - I mean, I wouldn't really care to have one just like that ..."
- (b) "It didn't bother me in the sleast ... slightest but those frunds ... funds have been frozen of ... peester ustinov ..." (Corder 1973: 257).

(a) and (b) are classic examples of mistakes which mostly native speakers of the English language would make.

(a) Is a lapse and (b) is a case of a slip of the tongue. Even learners of another language are liable to make mistakes (lapses and slips) but a vast majority of them would be 'errors'. They will be unacceptable utterances and breaches of the code. In other words, learners will make 'errors' not because of physical failures but because of an imperfect knowledge of the code and the formation rules of the second language which they have not yet internalized. Here are some examples of errors made by Nepali learners of English.

- (a) She will marry to him.
- (b) He was borned in Nepal.
- (c) He is not civilization person.
- (d) Tourists are mushroom in Pokhara by thirty percent.

The Approaches to the Study of Errors

There are various approaches to the study of errors. For the sake of convenience they may be divided into (1) Linguistic Approaches (2) Non-linguistic Approaches.

- (1) The linguistic approaches are:

- (i) Contrastive Analysis Approach
 - (ii) Error Analysis Approach
- (2) The non-linguistic approaches are:

- (i) Sociological Approach
- (ii) Psychological Approach

Since only the linguistic approaches fall within the scope of this paper, the non-linguistic approaches will not be discussed.

Contrastive Analysis Approach

From the early 1940s to the 1960s, teachers of foreign languages were rather optimistic about their language teaching problems being approached scientifically, with the use of methods derived from structural linguistics. Essentially the aim of structural linguistics was to characterize the syntactic structure of sentences in terms of their grammatical categories and surface arrangements. Fries was explicit about the implications of the approach of contrastive analysis and claimed that "the most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner" (Fries, 1945/1972: 9). Lado, another ardent supporter of this approach, in the preface to Linguistics Across Cultures (1957: 9) says:

"The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student."

Claims like Fries' and Lado's were reinforced by informal observations of learners' systematic errors which seemed to reflect the structure of their native language. Though most of the errors were phonological in nature others clearly occurred at the syntactic and morphological levels. From this it appeared that difficulties of foreign language learner's could be predicted from the differences evident in the structures of the two languages. It was this comparative approach that came to be known as contrastive analysis.

Contrastive analysis borrowed principles from the field of the psychology of learning such as imitation, reinforcement, habit strength, and positive and negative transfer, and incorporated these into its framework. This approach presupposed that language development consisted of the acquisition of a set of habits, and so errors in the second language were regarded as the result of the first language habits interfering during the acquisition of the habits of a second language. Difficult patterns were predicted on the basis of contrastive analysis, and emphasized in the drills. Teachers were made aware of these differences and consequently asked to pay special attention to them while teaching.

The comparison of the structures of languages is still a respectable activity within contrastive linguistics and has come to be conducted within the transformational generative grammar-framework. The status of contrastive analysis as a psychological approach to the investigation of the second language process, however, became unpopular for several reasons. For one thing, it carried an unfortunate association with the behaviourist view of language acquisition, whose theoretical adequacy was seriously questioned most notably by Chomsky (1959). Secondly, according to Hakuta and Cancino, "a more devastating reason was that contrastive analysis fared quite poorly once researchers, instead of relying on anecdotal impressions from the classroom, began collecting data in more systematic ways ..." (1977: 296). The analysis of learners' errors from these data showed that most of them were not predictable on the basis of contrastive analysis. As a matter of fact, most of the errors like rule simplification and overgeneralization which show a striking resemblance to errors made by children while acquiring a first language, could not be accounted for by contrastive analysis. When the inadequacy of this approach as a predictive model became obvious, Wardhaugh (1970) made the useful distinction between strong and weak versions of the approach. The strong version claimed to predict errors, whereas the weak version just accounted for errors that occurred.

In spite of its obvious shortcomings, contrastive analysis survives only in its weak form. As it can account only for some and not for all of the errors, it gives an incomplete representation of the second language acquisition process. Recently it has been included in the more general approach of error analysis which analyses all systematic deviations of the learner's language from the target language norms.

Error Analysis Approach

The contrastive analysis approach is not the only way towards the solution of a highly complex problem like designing properly graded teaching materials. A more reliable approach to the study

of errors is the approach of Error Analysis, which is directly concerned with student performance. This approach adopts the view that the sources of linguistic interference are not restricted to the learners' mother tongue. On the basis of Error Analysis, many investigators noted similarities between the types of errors reported in the first language acquisition and the errors made by second language learners. Obviously, these were the errors that could not be accounted for within the contrastive analysis framework. On this basis, researchers speculated that the process of acquiring the first and second language are essentially the same (Corder 1967, Dulay and Burt 1972, Richards 1973). Today the aim of Error Analysis is (i) to describe, by the evidence contained in errors, the nature of the interlanguage in its stages of development and (ii) to deduce from these descriptions the process of second language acquisition.

Most of the studies in error analysis attempt to classify learners' errors. Errors are generally divided into two categories: intralingual errors and interference (or interlingual) errors. Intralingual errors are those that arise from the target language itself, whereas interference errors are those whose source can be traced to the mother tongue of the learner. These latter are the "errors" that contrastive analysis addressed. However, in the framework of Error Analysis these errors are not interpreted as products of the mother tongue interfering with the second language habit, as the language learning process is seen as an active hypothesis testing on the part of the learner. Interference errors are therefore interpreted as a manifestation of the learner's hypothesis that the target language is just like his mother tongue (Corder, 1967).

Richards defines the field of Error Analysis as dealing with the differences between the way people learning a language speak, and the way adult native speakers of the language use the language (1971b: 12). He goes on to say that errors in second language learning are as systematic as the differences between the first language learning utterances of the child and the utterances of adult speakers of the language. For evidence, he gives a list of typical errors in the English verbal groups made by those learning English as a second language. These represent common errors made by students with quite different mother tongues. In order to emphasize his point, namely that the learner's errors in second language acquisition are systematic, Richards draws on Selinker's (1969) presentation of the speech output in second language as 'interlanguage' since it invariably differs from the target language.

"It is my contention that the most interesting phenomenon in interlanguage performance are those items, rules, and subsystems which are fossilizable (i.e.) permanent characteristics of the speech of bilinguals irrespective of the age at which the second language is acquired or the amount of instruction or practice in it. If it can be experimentally demonstrated that fossilizable items, rules, and subsystems which occur in interlanguage performance are a result of the native language then we are dealing with the process of language transfér. If these are a result of identifiable items in training procedures, then we are dealing with transfér of training; if they are a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned, then we are dealing with strategies of learning; if they are the result of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication with native speakers of the target language rules, then we are dealing with strategies of communication; and finally if they are the result of a clear overgeneralization of target language rules, then we are dealing with the reorganization of linguistic materials. I would like to hypothesize that these five processes are central in second language learning and that each process forces fossilizable material upon surface interlanguage utterances, controlling to a very extent the shape of these utterances."

Richards (1971b: 14), on the basis of this theoretical framework, suggests errors of interference, overgeneralization, and assimilation in which the learner makes his learning task easier. Several researchers have investigated the extent to which learners make errors. Dulay and Burt in their two widely cited papers (1973, 1974) report a study in which they took speech samples of 179 Spanish speaking children. They tallied errors that could be 'unambiguously' classified as either being interference, intralingual or unique (neither of the two) and came to the rather dramatic and straightforward conclusion, that of the 513 unambiguous errors, only about 5% were interference while 87% were intralingual and the remainder were classified as unique. Dulay and Burt according to this finding said that 'children do not use their first language habits in the process of learning the syntax of their new language' (1974: 134).

Other studies in Error Analysis attempt to compare the proportions of interference and intralingual errors in adult learners. Corder (1975) citing Duskova (1969) reports that there is a larger proportion of interlingual errors in the case of adult Czechoslovakians made in English composition, and reported that roughly 30% of the 1,007 errors collected were interference and the remainder intralingual. A closer look the breakdown of her data reveals that many interference errors were omissions of articles, a part of speech for which Czech does not have an equivalent. Dulay and Burt considered omission of articles to be intralingual errors, since children learning English as their first language also omit articles. When one compares the interference errors according to Dulay and Burt's criteria the proportion in Duskova's study is also reduced to 5%.

Other studies of errors are taxonomic, generally classifying errors as interference, overgeneralization and simplification. Such studies include Selinker, Swain and Dumans (1975), Jain (1974), Richards (1971a) and Taylor (1975).

An Approach Suitable to the Nepalese Context

In a paper on the contrastive analysis hypothesis, Wardhaugh (1970) observes that a decade ago this approach was still a fairly new and exciting idea holding great promise for curriculum development and teaching. But after the Chomskyan revolution in linguistics, one is not too sure. Today contrastive analysis is just one of many uncertain variables which one must re-evaluate in second language teaching. "The predicting power of contrastive analysis is now seriously questioned; it is being confronted with approaches that are more directly concerned with pupil performance." (Buteau 1970: 134). Buteau concludes in her study of students' errors in the learning of French as a second language that an error based analysis is necessary to work out and test hypotheses concerning factors that set degrees of difficulty in second language acquisition.

In Nepal, where learners acquire English as a foreign language an error based of learners' errors can give more reliable results upon which remedial materials can be constructed. Corder, Wilkins, Duskova, Buteau, and Richards have all emphasized the need for an error based analysis.

Besides, as already mentioned, an error based analysis gives information on the actual performance of the learners and is therefore most suited to the Nepalese context. Unfortunately, few studies have been done on errors made by Nepali speakers of English. The

work done by Donnelley and Malla (1970) and Jordan and Jordan (1969) on actual errors of Nepali learners are pioneering works in this field, and errors have been generally classified as interference, overgeneralization and simplification.

From what has been said, it is evident that work on known rather than hypothesised errors are more fruitful. The error based approach proposed for the Nepalese context is of course a pedagogical one, and does not deny the validity of contrastive explanations for some errors. The results of this approach are significant to the teacher in that they help him assess the level of achievement of the learner and by implication the teaching content for the future.

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A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF NEPALI LAW COURTS DURING THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Krishna Kant Adhikari*

In my previous two articles published in the Contributions to Nepalese Studies (Vol. 3, No. 1, January, 1976) and the Foreign Affairs Journal (No. 1, April, 1977), I attempted to give some account of the reforms introduced by the Ain (Legal Code) of 1854 in the pre-Jang Bahadur civil and criminal cases and the impact of the Ain on the present Muluki Ain (Legal Code) of Nepal. This article analyses the organization and structure of Nepali law courts during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Without going into the historical documents concerned, we may briefly refer to the work of Shri Satis Kumar (Rana Polity in Nepal, 1967) who has written on the judicial administration for the period under study. Satis Kumar states that Jang Bahadur did little to organise the judicial structure of the country. This unwarranted version of Jang Bahadur administration is blindly accepted by Shri M.S. Jain (The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal, 1972). But as the following discussion and data show, it was Jang Bahadur who created more judicial courts both in the hills and in the Tarai districts. The judicial administration of Nepal during this period can best be studied under two main heads, namely centre and districts.

Centre

Kausal

First, at the top of the judicial structure at the centre, was the Kausal or State Council with the Prime Minister as its head.¹ The Kausal was not a purely judicial body, it was also an executive and legislative body. When it met to hear and decide some cases, it assumed the role of the highest tribunal. Further, the Kausal being a permanent body, it was entrusted with the task of making new laws and amending existing ones. Its jurisdiction extended to the whole of Nepal. In both civil and criminal cases, the Kausal possessed original and appellate jurisdictions. For instance, in V.S. 1920 (1863) the Kausal heard and decided some cases relating to rape, adultery, and caste disputes among the different subdivisions of the Gurung Community.² Likewise, in 1851 when there was a conspiracy against Prime Minister Jang Bahadur, the Kausal or the State Council tried the conspirators and sent them to British India for imprisonment.³

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The Kausal, under the Prime Minister, could hear appeals for any cases coming from the district judicial courts. In deciding cases involving more than Rs. 500/-, the district courts had to get the seal of the Prime Minister affixed to the written judgement.⁴ The district courts were further directed to request the Kausal to send instructions to settle such cases as were not explicitly written in the Ain.⁵ The Kausal heard appeals also from the principal four courts located at the centre. Before Jang Bahadur's time, as B.H. Modgson (1880) states, if a person was not satisfied with the judgement of the four courts, he could, in grave matters, appeal to the Prime Minister. And if he was not satisfied even with the judgement of the Prime Minister, he could go to the Palace gate and cry out "jutice! justice"! Thereafter, the king, with the aid of some Kajis, Sardars, Panchmen, Ditthas and Bicharis used to decide the case.⁶ The decision given by the king in-council was final. During Jang Bahadur's time the final decision lay with the Prime Minister-in-Kausal.

Sadar Courts

Below the Prime Minister-in-Kausal, there were four principal courts at the centre, and these were stationed in Kathmandu proper. These courts were: Koti Ling, Ita Chapali, Taksar and Dhansar. The first two courts, that is, Koti Ling and Ita Chapali, were inherited by the Shah rulers from the Malla Kings.⁷ The origin of the latter two courts - Taksar and Dhansar - is unknown. Probably they also belonged to the pre-Shah rule. These courts were called Adalats or Naya Sabhas.⁸ In some records of the period of Jang Bahadur, they are collectively addressed as Char Adalats - "four courts".⁹ Among them the Koti Ling was the highest followed by Ita Chapali. However the Ain of 1854 and other contemporary records give prominence to the Ita Chapali. According to Hodgson, there were no territorial limits to the jurisdiction of the courts.¹⁰ Any case could be filed in any of the four courts, except grave penal cases, which were to be referred to the Ita Chapali. But outside Kathmandu proper, the two cities of Bhadgaon and Patan had their own separate courts, each headed by one Bichari (a judicial functionary). The first appeals from these courts lay with the courts of Kathmandu proper, particularly to the Koti Ling and Ita Chapali. In short, the four Sadar Adalats had both original and appellate jurisdictions. However, Taksar and Dhansar had no jurisdiction to try cases like murder, cutting of limbs, confiscation of property, etc. The five major crimes, collectively called Pancha Khat (Brahmahatya - slaying a Brahman, Gauhatya - killing of a cow, Strihatya - killing of a woman, Balhatya - killing a child, and Patki - unlawful sexual intercourse, such as incest) could be tried only by the Ita Chapali, the chief judge of which was a Dittha, who also presided over the Koti Ling. The Taksar and Dhansar were in the charge of two Bicharis.¹¹ On occasions when some grave cases demanded his presence, the Dittha used to preside over the business of these two courts.

The Prime Ministership of Jang Bahadur witnessed some significant changes in the personnel administration of the four Sadar courts. First, dating from V.S. 1911 (1954), the Sadar courts had one chief judicial officer called a judge. The first person to hold this exalted position was Bishnu Prasad Gurugharana. In a letter of appointment given to him he was empowered to hear cases involving the death penalty and confiscation, and to give instructions to other judicial officers of all the existing subordinate courts.¹² Secondly, below the judge there were the additional positions of Bada Sardar (Senior Sardar), lieutenant and captain attached to the four courts, though their functions have not been precisely recorded. Finally, there were two separate Ditthas for the Koti Ling and Ita Chapali.¹³ As stated earlier, before Jang Bahadur's rule there was only the Dittha attached to the four Sadar Courts who acted as chief justice for the whole of Nepal.

District Courts

Before 1850

Before explaining the district judicial administration during this period, some knowledge of this administration before the second-half of the nineteenth century may be useful. Our chief authority on the judicial system of Nepal before the introduction of the legal code of 1854 was B.H. Hodgson. Thus on the basis of his published and unpublished papers, organisation and functioning of the judiciary in the hill and Tarai districts will be summarized below.

According to Hodgson, the hill districts were divided for judicial purposes into eight parts, with each part under one judicial authority called a Bichari.¹⁴ But the territorial limits of Bicharis were not precisely defined, and their number also changed from time to time. Furthermore, from the judicial point of view, the capital (Kathmandu Valley) was considered the centre of the country. The eastern and western interior parts of the country were divided into two "grand sections." The eastern grand section covered Mechi and Dudh Kosi.¹⁵ The western grand section was divided into two sections: the Kalipar division covered the territory between the Kali and Bheri rivers, and a second section covered the region between the Kali and Marsyangdi rivers. This area was called the Majhkhand circuit.¹⁶ Two Bicharis presided over the business of each of the greater divisions. In the eastern division there were two fixed judicial residences located in Majhkirat and Chainpur.¹⁷ In the west there were four fixed or permanent judicial residences of the Bicharis. Two permanent residences for the Kalipar division were located in Baglung Chour and Beni. The other two permanent residences of the Bicharis for the Majhkhand division were in Pokhara and Tarku.¹⁸ The remaining courts were movable or ambulatory.

From the writings of Hodgson it appears that the Tarai judicial administration, unlike that of the hills, was entrusted to the Subbas and Foujdars, the latter being subordinate to the former. The Tarai region which actually included some hill tracts also was divided for judicial purposes in the following way:¹⁹

1. Morang Division: This division was placed under one Subba and two Foujdars.
2. Saptari and Mahottari Division: This division was also under one Subba and two Foujdars.
3. Bara and Parsa Division: The same number of Subbas and Foujdars as in the case of the preceding two divisions.
4. Rautahat Division: This was under one Subba and one Foujdar.
5. Chitwan Division: One Subba and one Foujdar administered here.
6. Butwal Division: One Subba and one Foujdar.
7. Doti Division: There was only one Foujdar here.
8. Salyan Tarai Division: Only one Foujdar was in charge of this division.

All of the divisions mentioned above were independent of each other.

After 1850

As mentioned in the beginning of this article, the judicial system for both the hills and the Tarai, particularly the structure of the courts, was remodelled. To give a summary, there were three levels of courts in the districts. There were Gaudas, Adalats (sometimes also called Addas) and Amals, the last one referring to the village level. Ample references are available of the existence of some courts called Goswaras and Aminis in the Tarai districts, although there is no detailed information available concerning their activities as law courts. Nevertheless, the available names of the district courts may be noticed. The records cited explicitly give the location of the named district courts along with the rank of the important judicial functionaries attached to them. Below, the ranks of the judicial functionaries are given in parentheses for each district court concerned. But in the case of some districts the judicial functionaries are not available from the records.

1. Palpa Adalat (Dittha, Bichari, Bahidar and Tahbildar).²⁰
2. Doti Adalat (same).²¹
3. Dailekh Adalat (Bichari, Bahidar and Tahbildar).²²
4. Jumla Adalat (same).²³
5. Salyan Adalat (same).²⁴
6. Dhankuta Adalat (Bichari, Khardar, Bahidar and Tahbildar).²⁵
7. Kaski Adalat (same).²⁶ Some records refer to this as Pokhara Adalat. Pokhara was, as it is now, the headquarters of Kaski.
8. Lamjung Sadar Adalat (Bichari, Bahidar and Tahbildar).²⁷
9. Gorkha Adda (Bichari and Tahbildar).²⁸
10. Baglung Adalat (Dittha and Bichari).²⁹
11. Katarban Sadar Adalat (same).³⁰
12. Majh Khand, Palhi and Bethari Adalat (Dittha and Bichari).³¹
13. Jaleswor Sadar Adalat (same).³²
14. Bardiya Adalat (Dittha and Bichari).³³
15. Baitadi Sadar Adalat (not available).³⁴
16. Syangja Adalat (Bichari and Tahbildar).³⁵
17. Taulihawa Sadar Adalat (Dittha and Bichari).³⁶
18. Chainpur Adda (Bichari).³⁷
19. Ilam Adda (not available).³⁸
20. Tanahun Sur (Dittha).³⁹
21. Patan Adalat (not available).⁴⁰
22. Bhadgaon Adalat (not available).⁴¹

In addition to the foregoing Adalats located in the hills and the Tarai districts, there were courts called Goswaras and Aminis in the following Tarai districts:⁴²

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. Bara | 2. Parsa | 3. Chitwan |
| 4. Mahottari | 5. Saptari | 6. Rautahat |
| 7. Sarlahi, and | 8. Butwal. | |

Until fresh documents are explored, no detailed study of these courts is possible. It may also be noted that the districts had also Thanas and Kachaharis. The Thanas, as their names suggest, were police or military outposts. Besides the military functionaries (usually of the ranks of captains and lieutenants), there were Dittas and Bicharis along with other clerks attached to them.⁴³ The Ain of 1854 states that the Thanas, too, heard and decided cases.⁴⁴

Functions and Jurisdiction of the Courts

Gaudas: The word Gauda literally means "a narrow pass." But it is also used to refer to a hill station or to a castle or fort. Those districts which were called Gaudas were: Doti, Salyan, and Palpa in the West and Dhankuta in the east.⁴⁵ The judicial offices established in these districts were thus known as Gaudas. Since the introduction of Gorkha rule, the Gaudas were placed under responsible military officials — at first under Kajis or Sardars, and later on, under generals and colonels. In the Ain the chief judicial official of a Gauda is invariably referred to as Hakim and Malik. From the beginning the Gaudas served as appellate courts; but they also heard and decided original cases too.⁴⁶ The Ain and other records do not specify the activities of these courts. But the Ain gives some concessions as well as puts limitations on the jurisdiction of the Gaudas. For instance, the Ain allowed the Gaudas to hear disputes concerning the property of persons who were related to the judicial functionaries of other Addas, Adalats, Thanas and Amals.⁴⁷ The functionaries of the latter courts could not hear the complaints of their relations without the prior permission of the government or the Prime Minister. Secondly, although the Gaudas had jurisdiction regarding penal cases within the ambit of Panch-khat, they could order a murderer to be killed only when they got a Lal Mohar (royal red-seal document) from the Kausal.⁴⁸ In other cases these courts were given freedom to decide cases and award punishment as provided by the Ain.

Addas and Adalats

The Addas and Adalats were simultaneously used to denote the same law courts. In contemporary records some custom houses and other government offices were also called Addas. The Addas and Adalats were district level judicial courts with full original jurisdiction, the district Addas and Adalats received all complaints and law suits from the people of their respective districts. They had the power to try all cases, from simple theft to murder, as provided in the Ain. But before putting a person to death, they had to seek written permission from the Ita Chapali and the Kausal.⁴⁹ In matters of appeals, they received cases from the Amals and Kachaharis.

Amals and Kachaharis

Amals and Kachaharis were the judicial courts of a group of villages called Thums in the hills and Pargannas in the Tarai. In other words, they were village level courts having original jurisdiction. They had power to try all cases excepting execution, branding, degrading from castes, etc. In such matters, the Amals and Kachaharis had to submit the offenders to the Adalats along with a written admission of guilt (Kayalmama).⁵⁰

Conclusion

The foregoing is a brief account of the organisation and structure of Nepali courts during the Prime Ministership of Jang Bahadur. If further research is carried out on this topic, the exploration of new and original documents could better our understanding of this important branch of the nineteenth century Nepali administration.

Footnotes

1. The Prime Minister of that time was the highest court of appeal and also heard original cases. In this article only the organization and structure of regular courts is dealt with.
2. Order issued to Lt. Padma Dhoj Khatrichhetri and Bichari Karbir Khatrichhetri regarding caste disputes among different subdivisions of the Gurung Community, V.S. 1920 Bhadra Sudi 3, (Wednesday) 1920 Salko Daskhat Pratham, Kausi Tosa Khana, Nepal (KTKN). This provision was included in the Ain of 1854, now brought in published form. See Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Dev Ka Shasan Kalma Baneko Muluki Ain (Hereafter quoted as Ain), Section 38. p. 454, (Kathmandu, HMG, Ministry of Law and Justice, V.S. 2022). For another

example regarding the decision of the Kausal in civil matter governing caste, see Ain. Section, 49, p. 392.

3. Foreign Consultation, 25 July, 1851, No. 14, National Archives of India (NAI) New Delhi.
4. Ain Section 1, p. 169.
5. Ibid., Section 21, p. 171.
6. B.H. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, (London: Trubner and Co., 1880), p. 213.
7. D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Vol. II, (Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1955), p. 479.
8. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 211-12.
9. i. Register for V.S. 1910, Kausi Tosa Khana, Nepal (KTKN). The date of reference made is V.S. 1910, Aswin Badi 30.
ii. Registers for V.S. 1905 and 1933, Kamyandari Kitab Khana, Nepal (KKK). Now available in Rastriya Abhilekhalaya.
iii. Register, Serial No. 1, p. 61, Shahi Nepali Jangi Adda (SJA) Nepal.
iv. Ain, Section 12, p. 156.
10. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 212.
11. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 215-16.
12. Order Regarding the Appointment of Bishnu Prasad Gurugharna as the Judge of the Sadar Courts, Bundle No. 11, Serial No. 2084/12, V.S. 1911, Pausa Sudi 11, (Lagat Phant; Records Section, Department of Land Revenue, Ministry of Finance, Nepal).
13. Register, Serial No. 1, p. 61 (SJA).
14. Political Consultation, 4 November, 1831, No. 22 (NAI).
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Register, Serial No. 1, pp. 92-97 (SJA).
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid. One Register for V.S. 1920 entitled Daskhatya Pratham of KTKN mentioned the Dittha as chief judicial head.
26. Ibid., p. 83 (SJA).
27. i. Ibid., p. 63.
ii. Register for V.S. 1933 (KKK).
28. Bundle No. 24, V.S. 1926, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFAN), Nepal.
29. 1920 Salko Daskhatya Pradharna, V.S. 1920, Baisakh Sudi 14 (KTKN).
30. Bundle No. 34, V.S. 1930, Fagun Sudi 15 (MFAN).
31. Ibid., Pausa Sudi 2.
32. Ibid., Chaitra Badi 1.
33. Ibid., Magh Badi 12.
34. Ibid., Fagun Badi 6.
35. i. Ibid., Marga Sudi 7.
ii. Register, Serial No. 1, p. 63 (SJA).
36. Bundle No. 34, V.S. 1930, Paush Badi 2 (MFAN).
37. 1920 Salko Daskhatya Pradharna (KTKN).
38. Bundle No. 24, B.S. 1917, Chaitra Sudi 15 (MFAN).

39. Register for 1920, Daskhatya Pradharna (KTKN).
40. Register for V.S. 1913, Nijamati Thamauti (KKK).
41. Ibid.
42. Register for V.S. 1931, Madhes ko Darta Kitab (KKK).
43. Register, Serial No. 1, pp. 97-106 (SJA).
44. Ain (see "the Mahal relating to Adalat", pp. 169-180).
45. Hodgson calls the Gaudas as Vicerojeties and includes Palpa, Doti, Salyan, and the country of the Kitats, (Miscellaneous Essays, op. cit., p. 214; Political Consultations, 17 December, 1830, No. 17 (NAI), D.R. Regmi, however includes Silgari in the list of Gaudas, in place of Salyan. See D.R. Regmi, Modern Nepal (Calcutta, 1961), p. 300.
46. i. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays, op. cit., p. 214.
ii. Political Consultation, 17 December, 1830 (NAI).
iii. D.R. Regmi, Modern Nepal, op. cit., p. 300.
47. Ain, Section 36, p. 179.
48. Ibid., Section 2, p. 181.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., Section 6, p. 182.



TESTING NEPALI AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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and

Sumon K. Tuladhar³

Introduction

This paper is a preliminary attempt at describing the competence in the learning of Nepali at the primary school level, comparing the competence of those who speak Nepali as a first language (NL1) with that of those who speak Nepali as a second language (NL2).

The test was entirely based on the Nepali textbook, Mahendra Mala prescribed for primary schools. It was composed of 37 items, divided into four areas of the Nepali language - vocabulary, spelling, structure and comprehension. It was designed to test the students' skills in writing Nepali.

The Pretest

Approximately 50 percent of the third grade students in Makwanpur and Chitwan district schools were selected for pretesting on the basis of random sampling. The NL2 students and NL1 students were determined on the basis of their caste names. And furthermore they were questioned individually which language they spoke at their homes.

The chief investigator and the research assistant conducted the test; the school teachers did not participate in administering the test. The reason for this was to prevent their providing any assistance to their students during the test, which would have affected the validity of the results. When the questions were distributed the students were instructed to fill out the personal data; a general explanation on the direction of the questions was also given. The time allowed for answering the question in the test was 45 minutes.

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1. This study was carried out while developing and testing the methodology for the second phase of the research project: Testing Nepali as a Second Language. The project was sponsored by CNAS.
 2. Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar is a Deputy Research Officer at CNAS.
 3. Ms. Sumon Kamal Tuladhar is a Research Assistant at CNAS.

After the pretest the answer papers were analysed to determine the effectiveness of the items in the test in terms of two criteria - Item Difficulty and Item Discrimination.

Only 5 items out of 37 items in the test were found poor on the basis of Item Difficulty and Item Discrimination, and they were rejected and replaced. The wording and content of some questions were also improved.

The Test

The test consisted of 12 vocabulary items. The first four items were based on illustrations, the second three items on multiple-choice, the third two items on synonymous words, and the last four items on matching items.

The test contained 12 items for testing spelling. Seven items were true-false questions, the others were multiple-choice and correction of misspelt words. The test also had nine items for testing knowledge of grammatical structure. Five items were completing questions and the rest multiple-choice. Finally, the test included a reading comprehension passage of 79 words with 4 questions based on it.

The modified version of the test was administered in schools of Pokhara, Kirtipur and Kathmandu.

The Interpretation of the Data

The data was interpreted at two different stages to present a clear picture of the achievement of NL1 and NL2 students in learning Nepali in the primary level of schooling.

At the first stage the test papers of the students were divided into two groups - NL 1 students and NL2 students. The highest, the lowest, the total and the mean scores of the papers of the two groups were calculated. The achievement of the students was determined on the basis of the mean score difference between the NL1 students and the NL2 students.

At the second stage the scores were divided into the 4 test areas - vocabulary, spelling, structure, and comprehension - in order to collect information on which areas of Nepali the NL1 students are stronger or weaker as compared to the NL1 students. This mean score is the base for plotting the performance.

For interpreting the data two types of tables were designed - one representing the number of the students, their highest, lowest and mean scores and the other representing the mean scores of the NL2 and the NL1 students in vocabulary, spelling, structure, and comprehension.

The Findings of the Study

The data collected in schools of Kirtipur, Kathmandu, and Pokhara will be discussed. Table 1 below represents the highest, lowest and mean score performance of the NL2 as well as the NL1 students in the school at Kirtipur. The highest and lowest scores of the NL2 students are 33 and 9 respectively while those of the NL1 students are 41 and 8. As seen in Table 1, the mean score of the NL2 students is 22.0 whereas that of the Nepali students is 22.5. The mean score difference of 0.5 is not statistically significant.

TABLE 1: THE HIGHEST, LOWEST, AND MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS
- KIRTIPUR

	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
NUMBER OF STUDENTS	15	15
HIGHEST SCORE	41	33
LOWEST SCORE	8	9
MEAN SCORE	22.5	22.0

Table 2 given below represents the highest, lowest, and mean score performance of the NL2 and the NL1 students in the school in Kathmandu. The highest and lowest of the NL2 students are 42 and 6 respectively while those of the NL1 are 46 and 11.

As seen in Table 2, the mean score of the NL2 students is 26.0 whereas that of the NL1 students is 27.0. The mean score difference of 1.0 is not statistically significant.

TABLE 2: THE HIGHEST, LOWEST, AND MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS
- KATHMANDU

	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
NUMBER OF STUDENTS	25	25
HIGHEST SCORE	46	42
LOWEST SCORE	11	6
MEAN SCORE	27.0	26.0

Table 3 represents the highest, lowest and mean score performance of the non-Nepali-speaking and the Nepali-speaking students in the school in Pokhara. The highest score and lowest score of

the NL2 students are 36 and 8 respectively while those of the NL1 students are 40 and 6.

As seen in Table 3, the mean score of the NL2 students is 19.0 whereas that of the NL1 students is 21.1. The mean score difference of 2.1 is not statistically significant.

TABLE 3: THE HIGHEST, LOWEST, AND MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS
- POKHARA

	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
NUMBER OF STUDENTS	30	30
HIGHEST SCORE	40	36
LOWEST SCORE	6	8
MEAN SCORE	21.1	19.0

Because the NL2 and NL1 students learn the Nepali language from the same textbook in the primary level of schooling, the present study aims at diagnosing the stronger and weaker areas of the language. The data is computed so as to show comparatively the performance in four areas of the Nepali language.

TABLE 4: PERFORMANCE MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS AND AREAS OF
THE LANGUAGE - KIRTIPUR

	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
VOCABULARY	7.5	7.2
SPELLING	4.3	6.0
STRUCTURE	4.7	3.1
COMPREHENSION	6.0	5.7
TOTAL	22.5	22.0
(N)	(15)	(15)

As seen in Table 4, in the school at Kirtipur the mean scores of the NL2 students are comparatively lower in vocabulary, structure and comprehension than those of the NL1 students. The stronger area of the NL2 students is vocabulary, having a mean score of 7.2 while their weaker area is structure, which has a mean score of 3.1. But the NL2 students scored higher in spelling than the NL1 students.

TABLE 5: PERFORMANCE MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS AND AREAS OF THE LANGUAGE - KATHMANDU

AREAS OF THE LANGUAGE	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
VOCABULARY	8.3	8.5
SPELLING	7.4	7.0
STRUCTURE	5.6	4.1
COMPREHENSION	5.7	6.4
TOTAL	27.0	26.0
(N)	(25)	(25)

As seen in Table 5, in the Kathmandu school the stronger area of the NL2 students is vocabulary, which has a mean score of 8.5 and their weaker area is structure, having a mean score of 4.1. Their mean scores are comparatively lower in all areas of the language than that of the NL1 students, except for comprehension in which the NL2 scored higher than the NL1 students.

TABLE 6: PERFORMANCE MEAN SCORE BY TYPE OF STUDENTS AND AREAS OF THE LANGUAGE - POKHARA

AREAS OF THE LANGUAGE	TYPE OF STUDENTS	
	NL1	NL2
VOCABULARY	7.9	7.2
SPELLING	5.4	5.1
STRUCTURE	3.3	2.7
COMPREHENSION	3.1	3.3
TOTAL	21.1	19.0
(N)	(30)	(30)

As seen in Table 6, in the Pokhara school the stronger area of the NL2 students is vocabulary, having a mean score of 7.2 and their weaker area is structure, having a mean score of 2.7. The NL1 students scored higher in all areas of the language except comprehension.

Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that there is no significant difference between the learning of Nepali as a second language by the NL2 students of the third grade and the learning of the language by the NL1 students of the third grade. The performance by the NL2 students in vocabulary, spelling, structure and comprehension is as equally competent as that of the NL1 students in the test based on the Nepali textbook, Mahendra Mala.

Therefore this study concludes that the NL2 students can accomplish skills in writing Nepali without difficulties as the NL1 students can by the time they complete the third grade of their schooling.

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SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE IN DEVELOPING NEPAL

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Introduction

The major social function of the shaman in Tamang² society is the diagnosis and treatment of illness. This paper has two purposes: first I investigate the indigenous categories of illness and examine the unique relationship that exists between modern medicine and shamanism in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal. Then I turn to the curing practices of the Tamang shaman, comparing these to certain concepts of psychotherapy in order to show how the shaman accomplishes much the same task as his modern counterpart albeit within the context of a very different cultural belief system. Thus the shaman performs a positive function and role which, if abrogated or disrupted due to acculturation, will cease to fulfill certain deeply imbedded social and psychological aspects of community life.³

The idea that shamans function as community psychotherapists is a recurrent theme of cultural psychiatry. After Ackerknecht's (1943) pioneering work, the classic in this subject is the anthology Magic, Faith & Healing (Kiev, ed: 1964) in which are cited numerous examples that compare the work of healers from nearly every cultural area to that of the psychotherapist (also see Middleton 1967, Landy 1977, et al). However, much of this insight has not been hitherto applied to Nepalese shamanism. Hitchcock (1976: xvi) makes a brief reference to the shaman functioning as a psychotherapist in Nepal, but this is not the focus of his paper. A similar reference is also made in Blustain (1976: 95).

The etiology of the disorders treated by the Tamang shamans are attributed to supernatural agents. In order to combat these agents of affliction, the shamans enter into ecstasy; i.e. they become possessed and sometimes send their souls from their bodies. All of this is done in a ritual context. Basically, I observed two types of rituals: major and minor. Although these terms are mine, the distinctions were implicitly recognized by the shamans. Minor rituals are relatively simple operations performed routinely. They involve the blowing of a magical formula (phukne) and the brushing away of the pain from the afflicted part of the body with a broom while reciting a mantra (jhar phuk). If the minor acts

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are ineffectual, treatment can escalate into a major healing ritual (puja). My informants told me on numerous occasions that they would first perform jhar phuk or phukne before resorting to a major healing ritual which necessitates "calling on the gods", i.e. becoming possessed (Ta: lha den cham nyiba).⁴ The major healing rituals differ from the minor ones in that they sometimes last the entire night, from shortly after sunset until dawn. What is more, they are extremely dramatic affairs often involving the trance-possession of the patient as well as the shaman.

It is with such major healing rituals that this paper is concerned. In 13 of the 19 healing rituals I witnessed, I am able to report a complete remission of symptoms and complaints. In the remaining six cases, patients claimed partial relief; three of these later consulted a doctor on the advice of the treating shaman (my key informant).

In the disorders treated by the shamans which I observed, there was typically some upset in family concerns where two or more individuals were in conflict and one of them (the patient) became physically ill or possessed by a spirit. Therefore I surmise that the shaman is most effective curing illnesses of a socio-psychological nature. The cure itself also indicates this: it involves a reorganization of sentiments within the family. In other words, the curing activities involved in shamanic healing are not techniques for treating organic disease but attempts to remedy disturbing emotional states and interpersonal relations.

Traditional Categories of Illness

For the Tamang, the world of spirits, the animistic universe, cannot be radically separated from the mundane world. The Tamang attribute the causes of illness, and other troubles which disrupt the normal flow of existence, to some of the many spirit inhabiting the world. In the process of diagnosis, the shaman resorts to these explanatory devices to articulate and explain the cause of disease.

Primary to Tamang animism and concepts of illness are gods, spirits, witches and ancestors, who generally live in the atmosphere and on the earth. Any of these gods or spirits may cause illness if their territory is encroached upon, their shrine disturbed, or if one fails to perform proper homage. In the majority of cases, however, they were said to have attacked unprovoked.

Now it is not correct to place gods and goddesses in the same category as lagu, or evil spirits. Although the gods may strike out and cause illness, they are regularly worshipped and may protect individuals or even grant favours. Lagu, on the other hand,

are totally evil. They come in different varieties, but all have one thing in common: they are the souls of people who died in unnatural ways, possibly by accident or hanging. A dead man's soul may also become a lagu if it has not received a proper funeral.

Types of lagu include bayu, bhut, pichas, masaan, nag and moch among others. I did not find much agreement as to how each of these different types are supposed to come into existence. Yet each possesses certain characteristics differentiating them from the others. A masaan, for example, looks like a skeleton and hangs around graveyards; a nag is thought to take the form of a serpent and to inhabit dirty places like areas where people defecate. A moch only attacks children. However, there is no agreement among villagers or shamans on just what type of illness each spirit causes. Some say bayu cause heart pain and nag eye trouble, but aside from these two, the other lagu do not cause specific symptoms. Just as Western laymen rely on doctors to diagnose the cause of illness, so the Tamang laymen leave it to the shaman (Ta: bombo). I found, however, that bombo do not agree among themselves as to which spirit causes which illness.

Spirit-caused illnesses are divided by the Tamang into four categories: attack, bewitchment, loss of soul and spirit possession. The term lagnu (to attack) is used to describe the onslaught of the lagu spirits, and all these spirits are said to attack because they are hungry. They are appeased and sent away through food offerings made by the shaman. What Stone (1976: 58) writes of lagu in a Brahman-Chhetri village in Nuwakot district, could be said of the Tamang in Dhabo-Timbu as well. She writes:

"Despite their descriptive differences, all of these spirits share in common the ability to harm people or their livestock through causing illness or death. Further all attack from hunger; and their attack is designed to elicit food offerings from their victims. Sometimes these offerings are considered as a substitute for the victim's own body which the spirit desires to eat. Finally, all these spirits attack of their own volition or at the direction of a bokshi (witch)."5

Regarding bewitchment, the second category whereby spirits cause illness, witches can gain control over deities and lagu by promising them food. However, witches do not always use gods to cause illness; they are said to have techniques which are known in the literature as sympathetic magic. Witches may collect things belonging to the victim (like pieces of fingernails, hair, clothing), or can draw an effigy on the ground, and work harm on these objects to cause similar misfortune to befall their victim.

Witches are real people but, to my knowledge, their identities are never mentioned. When attack by a witch is diagnosed, the shaman tries to determine who the witch is. Often there are hints -- e.g. allegations are made that some old woman from a village a few miles distant is causing harm, but her identity is never determined. The witch's clan and village might even be mentioned, but nothing more specific than this arises. During my year in the field, I saw many diagnoses of illness attributed to witches, but never encountered a direct accusation against a specific person as being the cause of another's misfortune (for contrast see Blustain 1976).

The third category whereby spirits cause illness is through fright. Fright is the only means by which one can lose one's soul. When frightened, a person's soul is thought to depart from the body. When this happens, it can be stolen by any of the lagu or deities. A person suffering from soul loss is lethargic, possibly forgetful, weak; he loses weight and, in extreme cases, goes around in what is described like a fugue state. It is believed that a person suffering soul loss will eventually die unless a shaman is able to find his soul and return it. This is what my informants told me; unfortunately I observed only one case of soul loss and it was complicated by ailments attributed to the other factors as well.

The fourth category of spirit-caused illness is possession, which is defined by Crapanzano (1977: 7) as "an altered state of consciousness indigenously interpreted in terms of the influence of an alien spirit." While possessed, a person trembles throughout the body and, in extreme cases, may even lay writhing on the ground. This convulsive shaking is the key sign of possession. It usually builds up to a crescendo and, once this is reached, the epileptic-type paroxysm ends. The patients whom I saw become possessed always described their behaviour as involuntary and claimed to remember nothing afterwards.⁶

Now, aside from spirit-caused illnesses, there are natural illnesses. If natural illness is diagnosed, the shaman does not perform a puja. In very severe cases, my informants recommended the patient seek modern medical treatment. Since precise boundaries do not exist between natural and spirit-caused illnesses, it seems that their diagnostic determinations are based on experience. Bhirendra, my key informant, and my other informants as well, seemed to intuitively know what could be treated successfully by natural means and what could not. They frequently acknowledged the modern doctor's superiority in dealing with diseases like cholera and with severe lacerations and the like, saying that they could not treat such cases. Those patients whose disorders were almost totally incapacitating were generally advised to seek modern medical help.

Gould (1957: 508) sets forth a division of role responsibility between doctor and folk healer in Northern India that seems to apply generally to the Tamang (based on the many cases I saw the shamans diagnose). According to Gould, critically disabling illnesses are the province of the modern doctor, and illnesses which allow the sufferer to maintain a semblance of his daily routine are the realm of the shaman. I also observed that those illnesses which were chronic, either persisting or progressing, were recommended to doctors. The shamans, it appeared, were concerned with those sudden onset or acute illnesses that had no apparent external cause. The four Tamang categories of spirit-caused illnesses are of this latter type.

It is also interesting to mention that this same distinction also applies to "psychiatric" diagnoses. Chronic psychopathic syndromes which include symptoms often associated with psychosis — like delusions of grandeur, persecutory delusions, depressions and uninfluenceability (lack of transference?) — are considered "crazy" (boula) and untreatable by either shamans or doctors. Boula is contrasted to lagu illnesses which are thought to be sudden in onset and less functionally incapacitating. This indigenous Tamang classification seems to be similar to the modern concepts which distinguish between psychosis and neurosis.

The villages in which I worked are located in a very acculturated area where modern medicine has made certain inroads. For the most part, the people, including the shamans, have learned to respect its successes. But modern medical treatment is costly and so the people generally consult the shaman first who diagnoses the illness, placing it into its proper category.

Further, it is generally recognized that medicine cures symptoms but that the causes of many diseases are spirit agents, and a shaman is required to alleviate these causes. It was apparent to me that, while the Tamang had seen certain advantages result from modern medical treatment, they by no means understood or completely accepted it. Pragmatically, they availed themselves of its technology, but this caused no damage to their basic folk ideology. In most cases, spirits were still the primary antagonists. Thus modern medicine is filtered through an indigenous cultural screen and therefore has not done violence to the role of the Tamang shaman.

Nor has the shaman's function inhibited the penetration of modern medicine. The shaman is an astute observer of his community. His fellow villagers not only come to him when they are ill but interact with him on a day-to-day basis. He knows very soon if his rituals have been successful and there is nothing in his belief system which prevents him from suggesting that his clients seek medical treatment.

The Socio-Psychology of the Healing Ritual

The shaman's powers of curing are intimately connected to his knowledge of his client's social situations. A social analysis always accompanied a major healing ritual. That is, when the shaman became possessed and gave a diagnosis, the more knowledgeable the "possessing spirit" was of the patient's social relations and troubles, the more impressive he was. The shaman's divination (jokhana) was not to determine the future; rather it surveyed the patient's current problems, often his interpersonal conflicts. It was this "miraculous" knowledge that made the people think the god, and not a human being, was speaking. So it is obvious that the more in touch with community affairs a shaman is, the more his powers are believed. The shamans I worked with always spent a lot of time at the chyang (beer) bars and tea shops which are the centers of gossip. I am sure this is one of the ways in which they stayed abreast of the interrelationships in the community. Whenever I accompanied a shaman to a puja in a distant village, we spent time at the local tea shops explaining our business and inquiring what everyone knew about the patient (cf Putnam 1975).

In one case, my neighbour and his youngest wife had been arguing. He was bringing another of his wives to live in the house they are hitherto occupied alone. This youngest wife grew ill; she suffered from severe back and neck pains, complained of losing weight, and became weak. Her husband was a wealthy landowner and they availed themselves of many modern amenities. When she became ill, she consulted a doctor and took the medicine he prescribed for her, but her condition did not improve appreciably. She spoke to my wife and I often about her aches and pains, and she was very anxious about her inability to improve. She debated about going back to the doctor but opted instead to call in a shaman (my key informant). Her problems were common knowledge around my house and I had heard my servant discussing them with Bhirendra several times before he was called upon.

Bhirendra felt the pulse in each of her wrists (the requisite first step in any Tamang shaman's diagnosis), and performed a phukne for her, blowing the mantra at the back of her neck. This was to help alleviate her immediate suffering. Then, to eliminate the problem entirely, Bhirendra recommended a major healing ritual, to be performed the following night. On the night of the ritual, Bhirendra became possessed by a spirit during the jokhana. It told the patient: "Your back hurts." The patient replied, "Ho (yes)". "You have been eating poorly." "Ho." "You are unable to do your household work." "Ho." "You have gambled and lost much money." "Ho." "You hit and scold your children. You have been arguing with your husband." "Ho." "You are being attacked by a masaan."

"Ho," and the patient began to cry. At the end of the ritual, when the patient had calmed down, a chicken was sacrificed to appease the spirit being.

The belief in the ghost as the cause of illness served a number of social and psychological functions. During the course of the ritual, the patient got a statement about her social relations and her psychological condition. During the jokhana, the disease was named and a consensus established. All the patient's friends and relatives now knew why she had been acting so unlike herself. In the process of discovering why she was ill, everyone else found out as well. Public opinion was directed outward, cast upon the heavens so to speak, thereby removing all responsibility and guilt from the patient (cf. Park 1967: 242).

The belief in spirit beings as the cause of illness functions much like witchcraft accusations (Evans-Pritchard 1937). As well as providing "explanations for unfortunate events", it has the psychotherapeutic function of reducing anxiety by making it possible to initiate action (cf Kluckhohn 1944); the action of sacrificing and feeding the hungry spirit psychotherapeutically removed the cause of illness. The Tamangs believe that spirits cause misfortune because they are hungry; then feeding the spirit removes the problem. And, in its own right, faith may be a very powerful healing mechanism (see Frank 1961).

The ritual also had a noticeable effect upon the patient's social interrelationships. Thereafter, my neighbour became concerned for his wife's health. His attitude during the ritual became transformed from one of anger and retaliation to one of care. Before the ritual, he was extremely bitter about his wife's performance in her household duties. In the ritual process, they made a reconciliation without anyone needing to apologize. There was a complete remission of symptoms after the ritual; the patient did not experience, during the six remaining months of my fieldwork, any recurrence of pain. Following Lewis (1971), it could be said that, by becoming ill, calling in a shaman and having her husband pay for a ritual, the lady made use, albeit unconsciously, of an "oblique aggressive strategy" to make her husband show his concern for her.

There are many psychotherapeutic elements to be found in this short description of a ritual. In the first place, through diagnosis the illness was placed within a familiar conceptual framework. The patient's symptoms and all the mysterious and chaotic feelings of distress were organized and their causes identified by the shaman. The psychiatrist, E. Fuller Torrey (1972: 16), posits that this categorization, or "naming process", is a "universal component of psychotherapy which is used by both witchdoctors

and psychotherapists alike." Torrey (Ibid) insists that, just by naming the disease, there is immediate reduction in the patient's anxiety. This is because, once the illness is put into a cultural frame, definite expectations are aroused in the patient and his family. They identify with others who have been cured of similar things by the shaman. In other words, once the disease entity is known, there are definite prescriptions for dealing with it. It does not matter what the name is; it can be a psychological complex, a biological organism, or a masaan. The diagnostic process through which illness is identified enables a transformation from chaos to order in the eyes of the patient and those concerned for him, and this has therapeutic effectiveness.

To cite another example of a healing ritual, Bhirendra was once summoned to heal a woman who had been possessed by a bhut twice in the last two years. The woman awaited our arrival on the front porch of her house with her daughter. She complained to Bhirendra about stomach problems and lack of strength which interfered with the performance of her household duties. Bhirendra thoughtfully felt her stomach with one hand, nodded a couple of times, and then took the pulse in both of her wrists. He diagnosed that a masaan and a bhut were tormenting her and called for a karga puja, a major healing ritual designed to dispell serious illness. After the diagnosis, we returned to Bhirendra's house. On the way, he mentioned that the patient's husband was a good-for-nothing who neglected and abused his wife and children, a man who lost much of his money gambling.

At the karga puja, Bhirendra became possessed and summoned the spirit responsible for the patient's illness to possess the patient. He did this by playing the drum in the possessed state and intoning mantra. The patient began to tremble and the trembling increased as it spread through her body. Her head bobbed and she gasped a couple of times. A moment later, her husband also became possessed. He began to shake. The spirit possessing him challenged Bhirendra, saying he had no power to help the woman. Bhirendra returned the challenge saying "if you are so powerful, let's see what you can do." Then he angrily threatened to call on his familiar spirits. The husband said no more. He shook for a while longer; Bhirendra threw rice on him to dissipate the spirit and the trembling ceased. The patient, however, was still shaking and Bhirendra interrogated her. He demanded to know what spirit possessed the woman and why it was tormenting her. She did not reply. As the paroxysm increased, she swore at her husband, the shaman, and some members of the audience as well. Bhirendra threatened to inflict pain upon the spirit, through the patient, but the spirit still refused to communicate with him. Rice was thrown on the patient and she became unpossessed. After this episode, she was clearly exhausted. She had been possessed for

at least twenty minutes. In order to find out the cause of the patient's difficulty, Bhirendra then called upon his mukhiya guru (tutelary deity) to possess him. He played the drum hard and fast, perhaps five or six beats per second.⁸ All of a sudden, the drumming stopped. His drum rested against his left shoulder, the S-shaped drum stick lay across his right forearm. He gazed upwards, eyes half closed. He spoke, describing a vision which he was seeing. He said he was on the ninth level underground and was having a meeting with Panch Kanya Devi near a pond in which Nag Raja (King of the Serpents) resided. The Devi said that the woman's problems were being caused by a pichas and a bhut (changing somewhat Bhirendra's initial diagnosis). The Devi sent the pichas because the household failed to perform a proper sacrifice to her. She promised that the illness would subside after the sacrifice was made. Bhirendra made the Devi a chicken offering. And the husband committed himself to making frequent, large offerings to the goddess at her shrine.

Bhirendra was not consulted by this patient again. As far as I know, the symptoms were in remission, and the woman went back to her normal household duties the day after the puja. I was not as intimately involved in the details of this case as in the first one. Yet it did appear to me that the patient and her husband were in conflict and that the ritual put the husband in his place, so to speak. Not only was he humbled by the shaman during the time he was possessed, but he was asked to perform a ritual for his wife. Thus the ritual resulted in his showing concern for his wife, as was the case in the first example.

Other than the therapeutic effectiveness of naming the disease, accomplished in the diagnosis, there are additional salient psychotherapeutic aspects common to modern and shamanic curing. Kennedy (1974) identified four of these elements which he believes to be critical in both systems: faith, suggestion, group support, and catharsis. It is this last aspect on which I shall concentrate in the remainder of this paper. In order to highlight the importance of catharsis, I will refer back to these two cases.

At many of the rituals I attended, the cathartic element, i.e., the discharge of distressful emotion (see Scheff 1977: 485) was apparent to me. In the first ritual described above, each time the patient answered "ho" to the god possessing the shaman, there was an outburst of emotion culminating in her weeping at the end of the procedure. The second ritual example culminated the same way. In it, the patient became possessed by a spirit and shook convulsively. Although the patient did not respond coherently to the questions directed by the shaman, she did ventilate a lot of frustration and aggression which would have been unacceptable in other social contexts.

The behavioural psychologist, William Sargant (1957, 1974) suggests that possession, with its emotional outbursts, is very similar to other experiences common to psychotherapy such as abreaction or catharsis as well as to religious conversion experiences. Basic to all these experiences, Sargant suggests (1957: 7ff), is their ability to excite the person to such a degree that there follows an inhibitory or "transmarginal collapse." At this stage, the mind is extremely susceptible to suggestions; things learned in this state are believed with a great amount of conviction. Commenting upon similar types of highly emotional curing rituals, Leighton (Prince, Leighton & May 1968: 1178) says, "It is as if the whole procedure brought about a situation in which the structure of the patient's personality becomes soft and then, after the emotional crisis, resets in a new form."

Leaving aside the matter of suggestion for the moment, it is probable that these intense emotional experiences have a beneficial psychological function in themselves. Kiev (1972: 42) believes that emotional catharsis, by allowing the patient to ventilate aggression and frustration, provides "a sense of renewal and an improved capacity for dealing with reality." Furthermore, catharsis has remained an important aspect of psychoanalysis from its inception. As Freud (1924: 194) wrote, "The cathartic method ... in spite of every extension of experience and of every modification of (psychoanalytical) theory, is still contained within it as its nucleus." (parenthesis mine).

Possession and catharsis are certainly crisis experiences. They appear from a state of confusion, anxiety and emotional distress. During the crisis, feelings are expressed through the spirit -- a culturally relevant means. I witnessed Bhirendra attempt to arouse his patients emotions, at times to the point of catharsis as in the two cases described above. This seemed to be especially the case when spirit possession was part of the diagnosis. As part of the healing ritual, Bhirendra would attempt to have the spirit causing the illness possess the patient and speak through her. He said this was done so that the lagu could speak their demands. Similarly, many of the exorcists discussed by Oesterreich (1966) attempted to evoke demonic possession in their patients during ritual exorcisms. In light of the importance of catharsis, there seems to be a sound psychological basis to these healing techniques.

I mentioned earlier the patient's extreme susceptibility to suggestion during the inhibitory collapse stage following possession (Sargant op. cit). In the healing rituals I observed, it was at this point, when the patient lay completely exhausted after an emotional outburst, that the shaman manipulated certain key cultural symbols. Levi-Strauss (1963: 195) has pointed out the thera-

peutic effectiveness of symbolic communication. He says that symbols and symbolic gestures may penetrate directly to the patient's complexes in cases where the spoken word could not get beyond the patient's defenses. In this respect, the Tamang shaman's use of the narling mendo (Ta.), a white flower which is one of several key cultural symbols, is instructive. As a symbol, this flower represents many Tamang cultural values like goodness, sacredness, growth, fidelity, purity, health, truth and life. It is also called "soul flower"; it symbolizes the healthy soul and giving it as tika (blessing) to the patient, by placing it on the forehead, symbolically depicts the returning of a lost soul -- one cause of illness. During all curing rituals, the shaman manipulates this flower in his hand, passing it over the patient numerous times while reciting mantra. Such a symbolic gesture qualifies it as a language; through it the therapist/shaman, as Levi-Strauss (Ibid: 200) writes, "holds a dialogue with the patient, not through the spoken word but in concrete actions, that is, genuine rites which penetrate the screen of consciousness and carry their message directly to the unconscious."

Ortner (1973: 1339-40), in her article "On Key Symbols", calls symbols which are loaded with meanings of value and emotionally powerful, like the narling mendo, "summarizing symbols" in that they simultaneously represent, under a single form, many norms and values of a culture. She uses as examples national flags and religious symbols like the Christian cross. Turner (1967, 1975) calls such symbols "dominant symbols" and, according to him (1967: 29-30), their principal function is to transform "the obligatory into the desirable." By identifying with them, the individual, in a sense, uses them as vehicles to transform himself or his condition of health.

The healing effectiveness of this type of symbolic communication has also been mentioned by Kennedy (1967: 192). He writes, from his Nubian experience, that the "marshalling of these symbols in Zar ceremonies throws the weight of all positive Nubian traditional values on the side of the patient."

The underlying effect of all these exercises in Tamang healing puja is to transmute the patient's symptoms and beliefs into socially useful channels. In accomplishing this purpose, the symbol serves, I believe, as a guide or vehicle for the reorganization of the emotions released during the traumatic cathartic experience.

Conclusion

The highly emotional experience aroused during a major curing rite is analogous to what psychologists have called the cathartic

experience. It has the function of disrupting old cognitive and sentimental pathways, while the messages and symbols of the ritual restructure these according to cultural values. It is my belief that the cure and the resolution of the social conflict are interconnected. In each one of the cases to which I briefly referred here, and others as well, the illness occurred almost immediately following a flare-up in family relations. If the two events -- the outbreak of illness and the situation of social conflict -- are connected in a cause-effect relationship, as I believe the evidence suggests, then the illness is related to social and psychological stress. Thus, among the Tamang, the major healing ritual is a cultural mechanism seemingly designed to alleviate two interrelated problems: to release the patient from his psychological symptoms and simultaneously to restore the proper sentiments to what Radcliffe-brown called "the actually existing network of social relations."

Whether or not there is a complete cure here, i.e., whether the patient ever again suffers from spirit possession and other hysterical symptoms, does not seem to me to be important. The puja is not specific to "mental disorder" but is a cultural mechanism for solving social and psychological conflicts. Since these conflicts intermittently arise in the life of all individuals, what is being treated by the Tamang shaman cannot be permanently cured. The modern psychotherapeutic ideal is to better prepare an individual to come to terms with his conflict. The Tamang, on the other hand, are not concerned with such preparations but have devised a cultural mechanism for dealing with conflict whenever it arises.

I consider this to be a very positive social function and I hope this paper has served to illustrate what an important ingredient of Tamang culture and, by extension, in other Nepali cultures, would be unfulfilled if the shaman's role as community psychotherapist is negated by the incursion of modern medicine. Further, I have shown that shamanism is not a serious block to treatment where organic illness is involved. The Tamang shaman has implicitly attuned his system to take advantage of modern medical treatment.

In fact, with proper training, the shamans can even come to help spread medical aid inasmuch as they already recognize their own limitations in the treating of certain illness and take an active part in getting their clients to seek such treatment. Shamanism is not inherently antithetical to modern medicine.

In order to ease cultural transition, modern medicine must respect the shaman's positive role for both share a common goal: the alleviation of suffering. At the same time, each approaches this goal in different, yet not exclusive, ways.

Footnotes

1. Fieldwork was conducted from August 1976 to July 1977 in Tamang villages located only three miles from Kathmandu. All place and individual names are pseudonyms. Interviews were conducted with the assistance of an interpreter, in both Tamang and Nepali. Foreign terms used in the text are in Nepali, unless otherwise indicated. Thanks to Dr. Linda Stone and Dr. P.R. Sharma for their careful readings and important suggestions.
2. The Tamang are a Tibeto-Burmese speaking people. They live primarily in the mountains to the east and west of the Kathmandu Valley, and there are about 23,000 Tamang in the Valley itself. The Tamang may be the largest ethnic group in Nepal (Bista 1967: 52; Frank 1974: 94). Over 50% of the population of Dhabo (2,012), my field site, a very acculturated town, is Tamang; and Timbu (pop. 360), located less than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of Dhabo, is a typical Tamang village. The overwhelming majority of Tamang are subsistence farmers.
3. It should be noted that HMG's Ministry of Health explicitly recognizes the value of traditional healers, has plans to incorporate them in the integrated health services projects, and in no way intends for modern medicine to replace them outright (Dr. L. Stone: personal communication).
4. Lha den cham nyiba and lhari nyiba (cf. Hofer 1974) are Tamang terms meaning "to go along with the gods." These terms were used interchangeably with thuisal bhorba (Ta.) which means loss of consciousness (thuisal) and to take away (bhorba). All three terms describe what Eliade (1964) calls "magical flight" and considers to be the primary characteristic of shamanism in general. Soul journey is not reported in every form of Nepali shamanism. For example, Hitchcock (1967) did not find evidence of it amongst the Magars with whom he worked. Magical flight has been reported by Watters (1975), Jones (1976: 36), and Sagant (1976: 80-81). Hofer (op. cit.) described a magical flight amongst the western Tamangs different from that I encountered. The magical flight system described to me was quite extensive. The shamans' "cosmic map" included nine heavens, nine underworlds and six other worlds to which they travelled. While outlined primarily by my key informant, this system was corroborated by two other informants, one who lived a few hours walk to north and whom I saw frequently, the other a shaman from East No. 1 district, about 40 miles from Kathmandu. They also described an initiatory pole climb and a high god who resided above the ninth heaven (very similar to certain Siberian traditions) (also see Peters 1978).

5. The verb lagnu to designate the attack of a spirit also appears in the Brahman-Chhetri group studied by Stone (1976). The specific characteristics attributed to the lagu in Stone's study and mine are similar, and in certain respects resemble the jaasu described by Blustain (1976) in his Gorkha study.
6. There were cases where possession was diagnosed as the reason for anti-social behaviour out of ritual context. But possessions I witnessed all occurred within a ritual context.
7. Regarding pulse taking, Bhirendra explained that it was not so much what he felt in the pulse, but what he experienced in his own body while taking it, that was significant in determining the diagnosis. For example, if he felt a chill it was some spirit, if it was an itch it was another, a yawn still another, etc.
8. Neher (1961, 1962) has shown that, in laboratory conditions, auditory stimulus with a drum, beat at three, four, six and then eight beats per second, as tested is a series of forty-second sessions separated by forty-second rest periods, will produce the same effect on a subject as the rhythmic stimulation with bright light known as "photic driving" (see Walter 1953), that is, kaleidoscopic colour patterns; kinesthetic sensations such as swaying and spinning; and feeling states such as fear, disgust, confusion, and fatigue. Finally, myoclonic jerks may appear, and a full-blown grand mal seizure may develop. Neher hypothesizes that there may be a connection between drum beating and the production of trance states (see also Prince 1968).

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THE HIGH ALTITUDE ETHNOBOTANY OF THE ROLWALING SHERPAS

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Ethnobotany is a subject of more than scholarly or historical interest in Nepal. In the five years 1970-1975, the export earnings from the sale of Nepalese medicinal plants rose from one and a half to nearly ten million rupees (Malla 1977:194), a trend which held in the subsequent years (HMG Trade Promotion Center 1978:6), and which represents approximately 3% of the total exports of Nepal (Dobremez 1977:9). Potential uses of medicinal plants from the higher altitude regions remain under-developed compared to those from the temperate middle ranges and tropical zones (Malla 1977:198), but the possibilities of exploitation are attractive when one considers the ease of transportation and the high profits involved in medicinal plants as compared to the heavier, bulkier, and less valuable agricultural products of these remote regions.

Numerous problems arise in any discussion of the uses of wild plants in Nepal because the flora of the Himalayan regions is so often valley specific. While interesting to the botanist, the endogamous nature of many of these plants is not very useful to the commercial entrepreneur. Even in the case of closely related plants, it is difficult to know if the different species and subspecies contain the same properties, much less how they compare to related species in the far more geographically remote Tibetan, Chinese, and Indian Ayurvedic systems. Another difficulty is the tendency for all plants with special characteristics to be used in some capacity but often in a very different one, depending on the region and the ethnic group. Thus we find the aromatic root, nardostachys jatamansi, being used either as incense (Sacherer 1977:131) or as medicine (Dobremez 1977:104), while rheum emodi, a type of rhubarb is used as food (Jest 1974), as medicine (Dobremez 1977:103), and as a catalyst in setting both natural and chemical dyes (Sacherer 1977:134) depending on the community. Still another problem is that of maintaining uniformity of collection and preservation, a task made particularly difficult in Nepal by the occurrence of the monsoon at the height of the wild plant and mushroom season.

Despite all of these problems however, research and cultivation of wild plants, particularly medicinal ones, continues to be an active concern of His Majesty's Government, particularly the long established Department of Medicinal Plants. This institution

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has published numerous books, as for example, Medicinal Plants of Nepal, (Dept. of Medicinal Plants 1970), and has sent a number of its members abroad to study and publish, particularly at French institutions (Shrestha 1974; Dobremez et al 1974). It also maintains a large experimental botanical garden at Godavari, and similarly, a large herbarium in Kathmandu, as well as eight botanical farms located in the Nepalese country side. In addition, there is a pharmacognostical division of the Royal Drug Co. which does chemical analyses of herbal medicines.

Because of this long standing interest on the part of local researchers and also because of the potential economic significance, it was thought important to investigate and report on the ethnobotany, but particularly the medicinal plants, of the high altitude, remote, and impoverished Sherpa community of Rolwaling.¹

Rolwaling is an east-west valley running parallel with the Chinese border (North 27°85', West 86°20'-86°30'). The northern mountain range forms the frontier and contains Gauri Shanker, an unclimbed peak of 7,100 m. The valley itself is 30 km. long and never more than one km. wide. The human habitations in Rolwaling range from the winter villages at 3,600 m. to the temporary summer yak camps at 5,000, and are encircled on three sides by 6,000 m. mountains. There are passes to the north, south, and east, but the lowest of these is 5,300 m. and it is only via the western end of the valley that there is easy access to the outside world through Simigaon and the Tamba Kosi river valley. It was in the 3,600 m. to 5,000 m. range of human habitation that the following botanical collection and observations were made.

Altogether some 297 different species of plants were identified from this altitude zone while the local Sherpas had names for about 150 or half, of these (Sacherer 1977b:191-199). If one separates the medium altitude plants (those growing from 3,600 m. up to 4,100, from those growing at extreme altitudes, one finds that nearly all of them have Sherpa names. This knowledge of plant life and the pride taken in it by all adult Sherpas stands in marked contrast to the ignorance and apathy displayed toward the wildlife of the area, a phenomenon related to the fact that many wild plants are utilized by the Sherpas for food, medicine, and religious purposes while hunting in the valley is forbidden by their religion.

In searching for the meanings of the various Sherpa names, one finds that about one third are still remembered and that most of these relate either to characteristic descriptions or to the potential use. Typical examples of descriptive names include chu tsa (water grass), a type of grass found only in marshes or within the reach of the spray of the valley's many waterfalls, mendo serma

(flower yellow), kali tsermang (blackbird thorn), and shamu (hat) for mushrooms. Examples of names indicating the potential use of the plant are tsa men (grass medicine), re pedzu (goats' spinach) and dangin dra (pheasant rice) as well as the category of plants known as sra jung or sra jungma (hair young), which are small fuzzy leafed plants that are particularly useful when dried and used as kindling for fires.

The Sherpa sense of aesthetics include an appreciation of the numerous flowers dotting the monsoon landscape and several songs celebrating their beauty including one dedicated to the primula, Pangi mendo (first flower) which is the first bloom to appear in the spring and the red rhodendron known as kalma, also an early spring flower. A number of juniper trees have been planted in front of the gomba (Buddhist temple) and the village council has passed a ruling that no trees could be cut in the forest opposite the village of Beding and the gomoa so as not to spoil the serenity of the view.

The idea that plants are living creatures that ought not to be harmed if possible finds expression in the belief that no plants should be picked or cut on the various religious holidays and the idea that certain plants have unique characteristics relating to religious history. Thus, one is told, the shukpa, Juniperus recurva and the pamu, Juniperus indica, are bent and crooked because they were alive when Buddha walked the earth and were so sad at his death that they became permanently bent over with grief. Yet another interesting story, secular in nature, involves the bamboo which is said to have grown very straight and tall in the beginning thinking itself better than other plants only to realize that such lofty heights were lonely, and eventually bending over in order to be with its shorter friends. Still another relates that the rhododendron and oak had a debate during winter as to which tree was the best but when spring came and the rhododendron burst forth with beautiful flowers, the oak became so ashamed that it began to grow crooked and cracked.

In addition to these morality stories about plants, the Sherpas have some folk beliefs regarding the sexuality of certain plants which appear to have both flowered and flowerless varieties growing at the same time in the same vicinity as for example the umbellifereae, gumdang, Archangelica officinalis Hoffm., and shin nakpa, Pterocyclus angelicoides Benth. According to the Sherpas, the flowered plant is the male and the flowerless the female, since the flowers eventually produce seeds, sen, and it is a rule of nature that it is the males of every species (including human beings) who furnish the creative seed. It is further believed that plants such as shin nakpa, gyashur, Meconopsis paniculata, and sengrun, Swertia multicaulis D. Don, not only have male and female

varieties, but that the male counterparts die after only one blooming season. Scientifically, it would appear that these particular plants are biennials or perennials which continue to live but do not bloom every year.

A final way in which the plant life of Rolwaling significantly influences the outlook and way of life of the people is the phenomenon of the monsoon growth period which not only transforms over grazed brown stubble into luxuriant grass, flowers, and hanging moss, but also over grows the trail separating upper Rolwaling from Simigaon at the western end, making it impassable for two months of the year. While it is always possible to exit the upper valley by using a high ridge route which requires twice the physical effort of the normal trail, this route is impractical for all but emergencies and the prevailing impression created by the combination of over grown path and ever present low hanging clouds during this period is one of total isolation and solitude. Certainly during the monsoon more than any other time of year, one is aware of the recurring folk theme of Rolwaling being a sacred hidden valley, beyul, created by Padmasambhava, the yogin who brought Buddhism from India to Tibet (Sacherer 1977b, 1977c).

Edible Plants

All available evidence indicates that wild plants were much more important to the Sherpa diet before the introduction of the potato provided a more stable food supply, an event which seems to have occurred in Khumbu around 1850 (Haimendorf 1972), and in Rolwaling around 1870 (Sacherer 1977a, 1977b). Thus, there are thirty one commonly known edible plants (See Table 1) yet in the summer of 1974, actual use of these plants was confined to only twelve, three of which were subspecies of a particular wild garlic plant. In addition, there were sixteen types of edible mushrooms (See Table 2) of which eleven were actually consumed during 1974.

One clue to the Sherpa's rapid adoption of the potato once it was introduced from Darjeeling (Hooker 1905; Haimendorf 1972), is the fact that they have long harvested and eaten a potato-like root of the wild plant, Arisaema intermedium Bl. (Haluk, or To). Varieties of this plant are known across the Himalaya although they are usually reserved for consumption by animals (Dutta 1909) at lower, more hospitable altitudes, due to their extremely acidic nature which requires beating, blanching, and boiling to be rendered harmless enough for human consumption. It is interesting to note however, that the Sherpa word for the whole plant is haluk, a Tibetanized form of the Nepali word for potato which is alu, and which may have indicated all edible, starchy roots in the past. If so this would indicate a much larger consumption of wild roots by the middle hills people in the past and also the fact, as seems

likely, that the Sherpas did not know this plant before entering Nepal in the 1500's (Oppitz 1968; 1974) and therefore borrowed a Nepali term for it.² Nowadays, among the Rolwaling Sherpas, one finds the idea that this wild root is a form of living food surplus to be used as a condiment in normal times, and as an emergency food ration in times of harvest failure and food scarcity. Normally, it is dug for only one or two days of the year and is used as a condiment to add acidity and thus flavor, to the bland starchy mixtures of wheat, maize, or millet porridge which are often eaten. In times of crop failure however, such as the autumn of 1972, when there were bad grain harvests all over Nepal, Rolwaling people dug the root for fifteen days and used it as a real caloric supplement. The year of 1973 by contrast, was a good harvest year, and fearing the extinction of the root, the village headman did not allow any digging at all that year. In 1974, one day of digging was allowed, and in the years since then, two each.

The next most popular wild vegetable and most important in terms of amounts consumed, is the long hollow stem of the umbelliferae, Archangelica officinalis Hoffm. (gumdang). The peeled stocks of this plant are edible during the months of May and June (See Table 1), and are consumed in both raw and cooked form nearly every day for the two months. Resembling both celery and fennel in flavor, this vegetable is said to grow in greater abundance in Rolwaling than in any of the neighbouring Sherpa areas, including Khumbu.

Two other plants which are consumed during this same time of year are a fern, Denustaedtia appendiculata (budjalu), whose entire upper stem and foliage may be eaten before it uncurls into its flat leaf form, and the plant Meconopsis paniculata (D. Don) Prain (gyashur), the thick peeled stem of which is eaten raw and resembles very sweet asparagus in flavor

Another edible wild plant of long tradition in Tibetan and Sherpa regions is a species of edible nettle, Urtica hypeborea, Jacq. (So tukpa; Sauor). It is even said that the most famous of ascetic Tibetan saints, Malavepa existed in nearby Lapchi on nothing but nettles for so long that his skin, eventually turned green. It is harvested by plucking with iron tongs and is often eaten as a thick soup to accompany boiled potatoes or tsamba. Edible from May to the middle of September, the leaves lose their stinging properties after only a few minutes of submersion in boiling water.

A condiment which is eaten in fairly large quantities just because of the frequency with which it is consumed, are the three subspecies of the Allium wild garlic plant. The most commonly eaten form is known as gokpa. During the months of May, June,

and early July, the leaves of the plant are eaten, and during the second half of July and the months of August and September, the flowers and seeds are eaten. Most commonly it is mixed together with salt and chili to form a spice for the ever present potatoes. A slightly different variety of this wild garlic plant is known as zingbu, and is consumed in the same fashion as gokpa, but the roots can be dug and dried during the winter months, a practice which is not possible with gokpa because of its bitterness upon drying. A third type of wild garlic called zingri, has about the same uses as zingbu and is almost identical in appearance, but is said not to grow in neighbouring Khumbu but only in Rolwaling and Tibet. In addition to food, all of these varieties of wild garlic have a certain sentimental value as the flowers, which bloom late in the summer, are often used to decorate the huts of the semi-nomadic high altitude yak herders.

Finally, two high altitude roots which were consumed as snacks during the short summer stays in the high yak camps were the two subspecies of polygonum, Macrophyllum D. Don and Spheerocephalum Wall., monzo and tai monzo, respectively. These small starchy roots grow at altitudes of 4,800 m. and above and can be eaten raw or roasted.

In regard to the eleven varieties of mushrooms which are commonly consumed, little is known yet of their scientific identifications (See Table 2).³ In respect to ethnobotany it is interesting to note however, that both ground and tree mushrooms are eaten although those varieties such as okpi sham, which grow on several trees, are not eaten if they are found on rhododendrons as the rhododendron is known as a "poison tree." Nevertheless, Rolwaling Sherpas do eat a mushroom known as che sham, yak dung mushroom, (because it grows only from piles of yak dung, particularly at altitudes above 4,000 m.), a practice which the Tibetans of nearby Dingri scorn as being unclean (Amjila Kunsang 1977.) Meanwhile, if an efficient means of drying could be developed, the commercial properties of these edible mushrooms would appear considerable.

In conclusion, one of the ways in which knowledge of edible plants is dispersed, can be illustrated by the example of a plant called pema koko, Epilobium consperum. In 1974, this plant was known by name to all Rolwaling adults but had no known use. Upon a return visit in 1977 however, it was discovered that almost everyone in the valley was using the dried leaves of this plant as tea or at least to supplement the expensive Nepali commercial tea which must be carried for eight days by human porters. The knowledge of such use had spread from nearby Khumbu via an important religious figure who had just come to reside in Rolwaling as the new head lama.

Medicinal Plants and Poisons

Medicinal plants and poisons have been grouped together in this classification since they are grouped together by the Sherpas as well. (See Table 3).

"The difference between strong medicine and poisons is very small," say the Sherpas, and "the best medicines belong to the same families of plants as the poisons." Scientific examples for this belief are found especially in the *Aconitum* family where closely related Nepalese species contain alkaloids either in therapeutic quantities or in poisonous dosages, depending on the plant (Faugeras et al 1973: 160) and in the danur plant, Scropolia tangutica Max., which can be eaten by domestic animals but which causes bloating and death in men when eaten as a vegetable, although the seeds of the plant are sometimes used as a type of mild narcotic by Sherpas in east Nepal.

Another interesting way in which Sherpas correlated medicines and poisons is in the use of the same word, men, for both in those situations in which they routinely kill something, with a separate word for poison, duk, for those poisons which are known but not normally used. Thus we find that Delphinium brunonianum Royle is called shik men (lice medicine), when in fact it is a poison which very effectively kills fleas and lice. Because such killing is a sin for orthodox Buddhists however, it is psychologically easier to label it as a medicine than as a poison, particularly since there is frequent need to use it.

In terms of actual daily use, however, one member of the *Aconitum* family, a type of caterpillar with attached fungus, and an umbellifereae, were the three most widely used of the medicinal plants.

Aconitum gammiei, pongar, is a root collected every year as it is believed to be very effective against stomach pains. Another member of the same family, Aconitum orochryseum Stapf., pomar, is said to be even more effective for the same purpose but has become virtually extinct due to over zealous digging in former time. The one specimen gathered by myself in 1974 was the first one seen in several years and certainly illustrates the ecological problems of intensive and unsupervised gatherings of irreplaceable medicinal roots.

Another very popular and interesting medicine/vitamin/aphrodisiac, is one whose Sherpa name, yer tsa gun bu, literally means summer grass winter worm. The Sherpas explain that this creature is in fact a worm in winter whose head "becomes" grass in summer, at which time the worm half dies and can be gathered and can be gathered and utilized without sin! Scientifically, this unusual

biological specimen turns out to be the caterpillar of an as yet unidentified insect which hatches in spring, is then attacked in large numbers at the onset of the monsoon by a head fungus, Cordyceps sinensis, (which indeed resembles long strands of grass growing out of the head) causing death by late summer. By early fall when the Rolwaling people collect the "worm", both it and the fungus have been mummified by the cold dry air. Not peculiar to Rolwaling, the yer tsa gun bu is known and used widely across the Himalayas by all peoples of Tibetan culture (Dobremez 1974; Bhatt 1977: 96a) and is eaten in its entirety, caterpillar and fungus, mostly by middle aged men.

Additionally, there is widespread use of the root of an umbelliferae, Pterocyclus angelicoides Benth., (shin nakpa). The roots of this plant are dug during the months of February and March and fed to the livestock, particularly sheep and goats. The root has a cat nip like effect on these animals and is believed to be especially healthy for them while the degree to which they are sensitive to it is extraordinary. Both sheep and goats will come running for distances of half a kilometer to obtain pieces of it placed on open ground or on top of houses to dry in the sun, being able evidently, to smell it from that far away. Upon locating a supply which is hidden away, they will spend an hour or more trying to push down doors, dig under rocks, or make holes in roofs to obtain bits of it. Strangely enough, they give no special attention to the stalks and flowers of this plant during the summer monsoon season when they are found in abundance.

The scientific efficacy of these various medicinal plants is only now beginning to be established. All of them were known to and used by the classical Tibetan doctor trained at one of the national schools of traditional Tibetan medicine in Lhasa and now resident in Kathmandu (Amjila Kunsang 1976) and five of them, Swertia multicaulis, Fritillaria cirrhosa D. Don, Aconitum gammiei, Aconitum ochrochryseum Stapf., and Aconitum laciniatum, were the same as or subspecies of plants listed as part of the official pharmacology of the People's Republic of China (National Academy of Sciences 1975: 83-92).

Nearly fifty common Nepalese medicinal plants have been analysed chemically so far in the Laboratoire de Pharmacognosie at the Universite de Grenoble in France, with the result that many of them have been found to contain alkaloids, steroids, and quinones which were hitherto unsuspected (Debalmas 1975: 1). So far the most promising among them which is at all related to the medicinal plants from Rolwaling are the swertias, gentians whose proven characteristics in the laboratory include anti-inflammatory action and a lowering of blood pressure (Debalmas 1975: 6-7). Their related subspecies in Rolwaling, Sertia multicaulis D. Don, sengrun, and Swertia racemosa Wall., titak, are renowned there

for being useful when applied to open wounds, in the prevention of infections.

Likewise, initial tests of the various Aconitums (Faugeras et al 1972: 160) verify that A. gammiea pongar contains therapeutic alkaloides which cause stupor and eventual death in laboratory mice depending on the dose, while A. orochryseum, pomar, never caused death even at the same dosages. It will be remembered that both of these roots were used in Rolwaling for stomach pain with the latter said to be more effective although in recent years it had become nearly extinct. Both of them are of course, closely related to a third Aconitum, duk zendu, A. lacinatum which is known to the Sherpas and to western scientists, as a powerful poison (Dobremez 1975), and to the delphinium, shik men, which is used as a tea bath for the killing of body lice.

In terms of commercial potential for the Rolwaling medicinal plants, it should be noted that in addition to the ones listed by the Sherpas as useful, there are at least seven other plants or trees which are either used for other purposes such as incense, or not used at all, which are already recognized for their medicinal properties and are frequently exported, including Abies spectabilis, Betula utilis, Ephedra gerardiana, Nardostachys grandiflora, Podophyllum hexandrum, Rheum emodi, and Valeriana wallichii (Malla 1977: 5-7). Furthermore, there is still the possibility for wide scale exploitation of those they are already familiar with but have never bothered to market themselves. Such is the case with the flowers and leaves of Picrorhiza scrofulariaefolia. While the Sherpas know the root as hogling, they were not accustomed to use the top part of the plant. In 1979 for the first time however, a non-Sherpa lowlander appeared in the valley to buy the tops of the plant (Nepali kutki) in exchange for maize and rice, and succeeded in gathering dozens of large bags of the substance which he was intending to sell in Kathmandu at a considerable profit. -

Incense Plants

Because of their role as incense in the numerous religious ceremonies, both in the homes and in the gomba, those plants which have aromatic properties are highly valued among the Sherpas. The ones most commonly used are those of the juniper family, Juniperus recurva, shukpa, and Juniperus indica, pamu (See Table 4). The branches of these two plants are burned over fires either green or in dried form, being valued for the aroma which their thick smoke yields. Since Sherpa houses have no chimneys, such smoke lingers within the interior for a considerable length of time and saturates the hair and clothing of the people as well. It is placed on fires at any event at which a benediction is performed; the arrival or departure of special guests, the occupation of a family dwelling

after one of the cyclic absences, and at all formal religious ceremonies which are performed in the household. In addition, it is frequently placed on a smoldering outdoor campfire just as people are preparing to leave the site, in the belief that the various mountain gods will be pleased with the aroma and lend their blessing to the intended activities or travel.

A high altitude rhododendron (4,000-5,500 m.), R. anthopogon, he masur, is the second most frequently used type of incense, being burned as dried branches or as the main ingredient in a composite incense mixture, tsang. Because it grows at higher altitudes than the junipers, its use is generally confined to the five warmer months when the Sherpas are living above the areas which are the natural habitat of the junipers.

Another plant whose highly aromatic root is used for incense in Rolwaling is Nardostachys jatamansi, pangbu. The root of this plant is dried and later burned for its fragrance and because of its popularity, is in danger of becoming extinct in the valley. The Rolwaling people do not recognize it as having any medicinal properties as do other ethnic groups in Nepal (Malla 1977:6; Debalmas 1975:2).

Another plant of very interesting properties which is used for incense in Rolwaling is Artemisia vulgaris, kemba girbu. This plant is used for moxibustion in China (National Academy of Sciences 1975:84), a process whereby a small amount of burning herb is applied directly to the skin. While moxibustion is practiced also by Tibetan doctors (Amjila Kunsang 1975) and therefore known also to Rolwaling residents, there is no one in the valley at present who is proficient in such remedies and no one could say if this artemisia would be used by a Tibetan practitioner although it seems likely. Another use it has in Rolwaling in addition to incense however, is in the manufacture of the yeast used in the brewing of chang. So far, the chemical composition of this plant remains unknown but must in some way be unusual to account for the versatility of its usage.

As for the commercial possibilities of these various incense plants, another researcher exploring the perfumery possibilities of Sikkim (Bole 1977:209) listed four species as definitely promising and two others with seeming potential, which are included in the Rolwaling inventory. These include ordinary oakmoss, Usnea longissima, which is used in Rolwaling as a special green treat for the livestock in winter, a rhododendron, R. Lepidotum, which is not even considered an incense plant in Rolwaling, the ubiquitous Artemisia vulgaris, another rhododendron already recognized for its incense properties, R. anthopogon, and a species of Abies and another of a mint plant, Elsholzia, which have corresponding

species in Rolwaling, Elsholtzia eriostachya Benth., lenza, an edible mint, and Abies spectabilis, a tree which is used for its medicinal properties in other parts of Nepal (Malla 1977:191).

Natural Dyes

Only two natural dyes are known in Rolwaling and only one of these, Rumex nepalensis, dampshima, is a true dye. The root of this plant is utilized for its yellow colour and because of its acid content, is not mixed with sour juices as are the others (See Table 4).

The other plant, Rheum emodi, atchowa, a type of rhubarb, is used to set and make fast the other dyes used on clothing. The stems are gathered in large numbers during the month of August when they are peeled and hung above the family fires to dry. After the drying is finished, they are stored until the winter months of December, January, and February, when they are soaked in cold water for reconstitution, and then boiled. After this process, the stalks are removed and Indian commercial dyes are added to this acidic water in the belief that wool dyed in this manner will not lose its colours after washing. In a few of the wealthier houses, this process has been replaced by the use of concentrated lemon juice which is manufactured in the lower villages and carried up by lowland porters. Neither the stalks nor their juice are eaten or used for medicinal purposes in Rolwaling.

Special Use Plants

Some of the special use plants in Rolwaling include several large middle altitude (3,000-4,000 m.) rhodendrons which are utilized both as firewood and as fertilizer (See Table 5). After the leaves are used to carpet the floors of animal stalls and barns, they become mixed with dung which is then strewn about on the potato fields each spring. Another plant, Silene nigrescens, sukpa, is utilized for its root which has soap like properties when minced with water, and especially the natural alkali which is found on the dried salt beds of Tibet and known as puldak. Several types of wild grass are used to line the traditional Tibetan boots of the Rolwaling people which are said to be not as secure but much warmer than modern mountaineering boots. A local variety of bamboo which grows as high as 3,800 m., has a number of uses. In its green state, the stalks are split and woven into baskets, straps, and cords while the dried form burns very easily and is often used as kindling or in a bunch together, as a torch for walking about at night. The hollow stems are also used as straws for the sipping of a particular kind of chang known as tonba. Meanwhile, the leaves of the rhubarb, Rheum emodi, are so large that they are often used as rain hats during the monsoon months, in addition to being handy

for packaging such commodities as butter and as light weight lids to aluminum cooking pots, the latter, a valuable asset to those who have to pack and carry household goods from one high yak camp to another all during the monsoon.

Finally, we find two species of compositeae, Artemisia vulgaris, kemba girbu, and Waldheimia glabra, kemba tikpe, being used to make the yeast which is necessary for the fermentation of the grains making the alcoholic drink of chang. The leaves of these plants are wrapped around small balls of millet flour which causes the normally dark, brown flour to "turn white" over a period of days. In fact, the change of colour is the signal to remove the leaves and place the small balls of dough called pap, on a basket to be smoked dry over the household fire. Recipes for this natural yeast are found in slight variations all across the Himalaya (Dobremez 1975; Amjila Kunsang 1977). In the most classical of the Tibetan court recipes (Kunsang 1977), special ingredients such as bear and fox innards are included, while other observers note the addition of wild berries, roots, and leaves (Batra & Millner 1974:946) and certain types of insects (Bernot 1975) depending on the region of the Himalayas. So far, only the rice flour yeasts of the Darjeeling area of the eastern Himalayas have been the subject of intensive study, and they have been discovered to contain and be activated by a synergistic relationship between phycomycetous fungi and several different kinds of yeasts (Batra & Millner 1974:947).

Conclusions

As the forgoing material indicates, the ethnobotany of the Rolwaling Sherpas is a rich one, perhaps surprisingly so in view of the altitude and the limitation of species. Classified botanically as a "dry inner valley" (Stainton 1972), Rolwaling is richer than some other high altitude areas further to the west such as Dolpo (Jest 1975:89-91) but has relatively few useful species compared to nearby regions of lower altitude (Yon 1976; Alirol 1975). Compared to Langtang, another east-west valley of similar altitude approximately 80 km. to the west, one finds that only 38% of the species are the same and perhaps another 10-15% are closely related while only 40% of the medicinal plants are found in common (HMG, Dept. of Medicinal Plants, 1976).⁴ Given this lack of similarity between two such geographically close and similar valleys, it would seem that each Himalayan valley must be explored individually for its potential ethnobotanical resources. As one Nepali writer has put it (Malla 1976), "Economic development through the utilization of natural resources and their management demand a sound knowledge of nature itself."

Table 1. Edible Plants

The High Altitude 57

<u>Aceraceae:</u>	<u>Acer pectinatum</u> Wall.*	<u>Cha simba</u>
<u>Araceae:</u>	<u>Arisaema flavescens</u> (Forsk) Schott <u>Arisaema intermedium</u> Bl.	<u>Chukalak</u> <u>Haluk/To</u>
<u>Berberidaceae:</u>	<u>Podophyllum hexandrum</u> Royle*	<u>Amu</u>
<u>Boraginaceae:</u>	<u>Microula sikkimensis</u> *	<u>Aliba</u>
<u>Crussiferae:</u>	<u>Capsella bursa pastoris</u> L.* <u>Erysimum</u> sp.*	<u>Chanmin</u> <u>Chamin</u>
<u>Geraniaceae:</u>	<u>Geranium refractum</u> Edgw.* <u>Impatiens sulcata</u> Wall.	<u>Pem Chundi</u> <u>Cha</u> <u>Dokshar</u>
<u>Labiatae:</u>	<u>Elsholtzia eriostachya</u> Benth.*	<u>Lenza</u>
<u>Leguminosae:</u>	<u>Calophaca crassicaulis</u> (Benth) Korn	<u>Gorim</u>
<u>Liliaceae:</u>	<u>Allium</u> sp.* <u>Allium</u> sp.* <u>Allium</u> sp. <u>Polygonatum verticillatum</u> (L.) <u>Allioni</u> * <u>Smilacina fusca</u> . Wall.	<u>Gokpa</u> <u>Zingbu</u> <u>Zingri</u> <u>Ramashak</u> <u>Gundare</u>
<u>Onagraceae:</u>	<u>Epilobium conspermum</u>	<u>Pema koko</u>
<u>Papaveraceae:</u>	<u>Meconopsis horridula</u> Hook. f. & Thoms.* <u>Meconopsis pamiculata</u> (D. Don) <u>Prain</u> *	<u>Dangin dra</u> <u>Gyashur</u>
<u>Polygonaceae:</u>	<u>Polygonum macrophyllum</u> D. Don <u>Polygonum sphearocephalum</u> Wall. <u>Polygonum viviparum</u> L.*	<u>Monza/Monzo</u> <u>Tai Monzo</u> <u>Rombu</u>
<u>Pteridaceae:</u>	<u>Denustaedtia appendiculata</u> *	<u>Budjalu</u>
<u>Rosaceae:</u>	<u>Cotoneaster baccularis</u> Wall. <u>Fragaria nubicola</u> Lindl.* <u>Potentilla fruticosa</u> L.* <u>Rubus niveus</u> Thunb.*	<u>La mi cha</u> <u>Pamlammu</u> <u>Shoshumba</u> <u>Nyangyung</u>
<u>Saxifragaceae:</u>	<u>Ribes luridum</u> Hook. & Thoms.	<u>Gyakshin</u>
<u>Umbelliferae:</u>	<u>Archangelica officinalis</u> Hoffn. <u>Selinum tenuifolium</u> Wall.	<u>Gumdang</u> <u>Komak</u>
<u>Urticaceae:</u>	<u>Urtica hyperborea</u> Jacqu.*	<u>So tukpa/Sauor.</u>

Table 2. Edible Mushrooms

<u>Changon Shamu</u>	<u>Boletus</u> sp. (<u>Leccinum</u> ?)
<u>Che Shamu</u>	<u>Coprinus</u> or <u>Drosophila</u>
<u>Dar Shamu</u>	?
<u>Dokar Katsikpa</u>	<u>Russula</u> ?
<u>Laa Shamu</u>	?
<u>Okpi Amja Shamu</u>	<u>Fistulina</u> ?
<u>Omi Shamu</u>	<u>Russula</u> sp. or <u>Lactarius</u>
<u>Pemar Shamu</u>	<u>Tricholoma</u> ?
<u>Quzir Shamu</u>	?
<u>Ser Shamu</u>	?
<u>Sil Tukpa Shamu</u>	?
<u>Taa Shamu</u>	<u>Hypholoma</u> ?
<u>Tokar Shamu</u>	<u>Russula</u> sp.
<u>Trakpi Shamu</u>	<u>Clitocybe</u> ?

Table 3. Medicinal Plants and Poisons

<u>Caryophyllaceae:</u>	<u>Stellaria sp.*</u>	<u>Cha Men</u>
	(Reduction of fever when taken as a tea)	
<u>Fungus:</u>	<u>Cordyceps sinensis*</u>	<u>Yer tsa gun bu</u>
	(Snrenghthening and aphrodisiacal properties)	
<u>Gentianaceae:</u>	<u>Swertia multicaulis D. Don*</u>	<u>Sengrun</u>
	(The juice prevents infections & clots blood in wounds)	
	<u>Swertia racemosa Wall.*</u>	<u>Titak</u>
	(Prevents infections; lowers fevers)	
<u>Liliaceae:</u>	<u>Fritillaria cirrhosa D. Don*</u>	<u>Pango</u>
	(Prevents infections of open wound when applied externally; reduces stomach pain when eaten)	
<u>Orchidaceae:</u>	<u>Orchis stracheyi Hook. f.</u>	<u>Ongbi Lakbaa</u>
	(Prevents infections of open wounds)	
<u>Ranunculaceae:</u>	<u>Aconitum gammiei</u>	<u>Pongar</u>
	(Eaten to reduce stomach pain)	
	<u>Aconitum lacinatedum</u>	<u>Duk Zendu</u>
	(Poisonous to the skin and deadly if eaten)	
	<u>Aconitum orochryseum Stapf.</u>	<u>Pomar</u>
	(Eaten to reduce stomach pain)	
	<u>Delphinium brunonianum Royle</u>	<u>Shik Men</u>
	(Prepared as a tea and then applied to the kill fleas and lice)	
<u>Scrofulariaceae:</u>	<u>Picrorhiza scrofulariaefolia Penne*</u>	<u>Hogling</u>
	(Root used as a cough & cold medicine; strengthening properties)	
<u>Solonaceae:</u>	<u>Scropolia tangutica Maxim.</u>	<u>Danur</u>
	(Seeds used as a pain killer and tranquilizer)	
<u>Tamaricaceae:</u>	<u>Myricaria rosea WW. Sm.*</u>	<u>Chishambu</u>
	(Prepared as a tea to prevent coughing)	
<u>Umbelliferae:</u>	<u>Bupleurum candollii Wall.</u>	<u>Tsa Duk</u>
	(Grass which is poisonous to animals)	
	<u>Pterocyclus angelicoides Benth.</u>	<u>Shin nakpa</u>

Tavle 4. Incense Plants and Natural Dyes

Incense Plants

<u>Compositae:</u>	<u>Artemisia vulgaris L.*</u>	<u>Kemba Girbu</u>
	<u>Waldheimia glabra</u>	<u>Kemba Tikpe</u>
<u>Conifereae:</u>	<u>Juniperus indica Bertol.*</u>	<u>Pamu</u>
	<u>Juniperus recurva Buch.-Ham.*</u>	<u>Shukpa</u>
<u>Ericaceae:</u>	<u>Rhododendron anthopogon D. Don*</u>	<u>Hemasur</u>
<u>Lichen:</u>	<u>Thamnia vermicularis</u>	<u>Kanjin Sheru</u>
<u>Valerianaceae:</u>	<u>Nardostachys jatamansi D.C.*</u>	<u>Pangbu</u>

(The ingredients in a special composite incense mixture called tsang include Kemba girbu, kemba tikpe, Pamu, Shukpa, Hemasur, and Pangbu).

Natural Dyes

<u>Polygonaceae:</u>	<u>Rheum emodi Wall.*</u>	<u>Atchowa</u>
	<u>Rumex nepalensis Sprengel.</u>	<u>Dapshuma</u>

Table 5. Special Use Plants

<u>Caryophyllaceae:</u>	<u>Silene nigrescens</u> (Edgew) <u>Majundar</u> *	<u>Sukpa</u>
<u>Cimpositae:</u>	<u>Artemisia vulgaris</u> <u>L.</u> *	<u>Kemba Girbu</u>
<u>Coniferae:</u>	<u>Abies spectabilis</u> (<u>D. Don</u>) <u>Mirb.</u> *	<u>Tashing</u>
<u>Ericaeae:</u>	<u>Rhododendron arboreum</u> <u>Sm.</u> *	<u>Kalma</u>
	<u>Rhododendron campanulatum</u> <u>D. Don</u> *	<u>Kalma</u>
	<u>Rhododendron cinnabarinum</u> <u>Hook. f.</u>	<u>Kalma</u>
<u>Gramineae:</u>	<u>Arundaria maing</u> <u>Gamble</u>	<u>Nungma/Ba Shing</u>
	<u>Junicaeae</u> sp.	<u>Tsa</u>
<u>Leguminosae:</u>	<u>Parocherus communis</u> <u>Buch.-Ham.</u>	<u>Sra jungma</u>
<u>Lichen:</u>	<u>Usnea longissima</u>	<u>Mengmak</u>
<u>Polygonaceae:</u>	<u>Rheum emodi</u> <u>Wall.</u> *	<u>Atchowa</u>

Footnotes

1. The botanical collection made by the author in Rolwaling during the summer of 1974, was done with the advice and material assistance of Dr. Corneille Jest, Maitre de Recherche, R.C.P. 253, C.N.R.S., France, and Dr. Jean Francois Dobremez of the Laboratoire de Biologie et Botanique Vegetable, Universite de Grenoble, France. The latter very kindly identified all of the specimens gathered and contributed most generously of his wide knowledge of Himalayan flora. The initial publication of these results appeared in the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Sherpas of Rolwaling north Nepal, a Study in Cultural Ecology," which was accepted by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, June 1977. Short follow up studies were then done in the fall of 1977 and again in 1978. The complete botanical collection rests in the herbarium of the Laboratoire Botanique at Grenoble, while examples of all the edible, medicinal, and other wise useful plants are on deposit with the herbarium of HMG, Department of Medicinal Plants under the direction of Dr. S.B. Malla. Dr. Malla extended professional aid to me and my collection during 1974 when I was still in Nepal. To all of these individuals and institutions, I therefore owe my thanks.
2. I am indebted to my thesis director, Dr. Lucien Bernot of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes for pointing this interesting linguistic phenomenon out to me.
3. For the existing mushroom identifications, I must thank Dr. G. Durrieu of the Laboratoire de Botanique, Universite de Toulouse I, France, who was able to do this difficult work only on the basis of coloured field drawings and ethnobotanical data which I gathered in 1974.
4. For a complete breakdown of the similarities between the ethnobotany of Langtang and that of Rolwaling as (listed by HMG, Dept. of Med. Plants 1976), 57% of the edible Rolwaling plants were also found in Langtang, 40% of the medicinal plants, 78% of the natural dyes and incense plants, and 64% of the special use plants. To know which species these included specifically, note the asterisk beside certain of the species listed in the Tables 1-5).

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YAKS, COWS AND STATUS IN THE HIMALAYAS

Sidney Schuler*

The special position of the cow in Hindu religion and society is well known. The symbolic connotations of the cow are varied and complicated. Even so, whatever specific meanings and values pertain within the religious traditions themselves, it is a more general sense of the sacred and inviolable nature of the cow which functions in everyday life. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the impact that this phenomenon, the sacred cow, has had upon non-Hindus living within the boundaries and along the peripheries of Hindu societies.

In Section 1, the nature of cultural stereotypes accruing to non-Hindus, their characterization as "beef-eaters", will be discussed by means of examples taken from anthropological literature. This will be followed in Section 2 by a description of the laws (former and current) which protect cattle in the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal; of past difficulties in applying these to non-Hindus, and of the implicit ambiguity of the old legal code in regard to the traditional customs of various local communities. Section 3 will illustrate some of the ways in which the low-status connotations of beef-eating have been adopted by the non-Hindus in their own self-representations.

1. The mountainous regions of northern India and Nepal have often been referred to as a "cultural interface." These areas constitute not only a geographical and ecological transition, but also a cultural transition between two zones: the Hindu lowlands and the high plateaus of Buddhist and Muslim Central Asia.

Although not all Hindus are vegetarians, Hindu vegetarianism represents one end of a spectrum and the meat-rich diet of the Central Asian nomads represents the opposite ecological and cultural extreme. The lowland cow cannot survive on the barren and windswept slopes of the bitter-cold mountain regions to the north, but there are related species: the tiny mountain cow (Nep.: "lulu"), the yak (Nep.: "cauri gai"), and the yak-cattle crossbreeds (Nep.: "dzo-ba").

In the societies of the mountainous belt across north India and Nepal, Tibetan Buddhist and Hindu cultural traits are generally found in some combination, with a tendency towards Hindu features

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in the lower-lying areas and Tibetan features in the higher and more northern areas. Various local groups have made conscious attempts to establish identity with one or the other of these broad culture areas, for economic and status-connected reasons. In this century the attempts have tended mainly in the direction of Hindu culture.

In most multi-ethnic areas cultural stereotypes are created. The Himalayan interface is no exception. A particularly pervasive one here is that of the "dirty beef-eating Bhotia."¹ The overt basis of this unflattering characterization is the simple fact that the cow is not considered sacred and is therefore often considered edible by non-Hindus.

For example, Srivastava reports that the Hindus of the Kumaon hills refrained from trading directly with Tibet for fear of being compelled to violate their own commensal restrictions:

"As Hindus they would not dream of eating with the 'filthy beef-eating' Tibetan Dogpa traders or drink from the same cup with them a beverage which invariably has a piece or two of meat thrown in. The meat could be a sheep or a yak cow!"²

Srivastava describes a particular group of people, the Johari Bhotias, who have attained considerable economic and political status in Kumaon:

"... the one irreconcilable incompatibility in their case is their being suspected of being beef-eaters or interdining with beef-eaters."³

It is not surprising that some communities in the Himalayan interface area are preoccupied with differentiating themselves from the "dirty beef-eaters" vis-a-vis their orthodox Hindu neighbours. A frequently cited example of this preoccupation is the case of the Thakalis of the Kali Gandaki Valley in north-central Nepal:

"Their Buddhist faith as well as their style of dress and manner of living stamped them at once as 'Bhote' and so pronounced was the contempt of the high-caste Hindus of the Nepalese ruling class for beef-eating and 'unclean' Tibetans and other Bhotas (e.g. Sherpas and Tamangs) that the Thakalis, however wealthy, could not establish satisfactory social relations with the dominant classes of Nepalese society ... they had to shed those habits which inevitably depressed their status in the estimation of those in whose society they wanted to be accepted. One of these was the eating of yak-meat which in Hindu eyes counts as beef, and is hence polluting

to all except the lowest and most despised castes. It is said that the customs contractor Harkaman Subba Sherchan (1860-1905) initiated the banning of yak-meat from the kitchens of the Thakalis ..."⁴

This account has been corroborated by various other writers.⁵ My own observations, however, lead me to conclude that this change in eating habits among the Thakalis is not nearly so pervasive as these writers claim. On the contrary, the renouncing of yak-eating, lamaistic Buddhism, etc., seems to have been confined to a relatively small, modern segment of the population. Many of these families have emigrated from Thak Khola.

Even so, the fact remains that such a reform was perceived by some as advantageous. Perhaps the statistical incidence of individuals who gave up eating yak-meat is less significant than the fact that the need for such a measure was perceived, that it was actually attempted, and that it was accepted as a "fait accompli" by so many social scientists who documented it.

A more subtle phenomenon, which lacks the aura of social reform, is the drawing of conceptual distinctions between yak and cow by people for whom the cow has no religious significance whatsoever. This occurs in Baragaon, to the north of Thak Khola, and in the yak-eating Thakali villages. Most people claim that although they do consume yak, mountain cows and yak-cattle crossbreeds are strictly prohibited. There is no indigenous belief, in Baragaon at least, that any of these animals are inherently sacred or polluting. The most likely explanation, therefore, is that beef is avoided for fear that the status conferred upon this group by the Hindus would plunge to an even lower level than that normally accruing to "yak-eating Bhotias."

II. There is no clear statement in the Nepalese legal code as to whether the yak is essentially the same or different in species to the cow. The cow of course is considered sacred and is therefore protected by law. Even nowadays the punishments for offenses against cattle are quite severe. According to the current version of the legal code the punishment for intentional killing of a cow, ox, or bull is twelve years imprisonment. For less serious offenses such as injuring or aiding to kill, the punishments are correspondingly less. Punishment for killing a yak is a mere Rs. 40 (approximately \$3.50) fine. This is particularly low considering that the market value of a mature yak is Rs. 1,600 or more. Even the Rs. 40 fine is not ordinarily imposed.

Given the huge disparity between the legal punishments for killing cows and yaks, one could deduce that according to Nepalese law, a yak is not classified as a type of cow. On the other hand,

since the yak is given special legal protection beyond that given to domesticated animals in general, one might deduce that the yak is considered to have some distant relationship to the cow, which other animals (e.g., the water buffalo) do not.

According to Sharma, the ban on cow killing was strongly enforced early in the nineteenth century, soon after the Shah dynasty came to power in Nepal. This is described by Sharma as part of a general strengthening of Hindu orthodoxy.⁶ Even so, Regmi reports that during the second half of the nineteenth century beef consumption was common in some of the non-Hindu hill regions of Nepal. When officials were sent from Kathmandu to Solukhumbu and Chankhu in 1862 A.D. to enforce the ban against cow killing, they reported the following:

"In case persons guilty of this crime are punished with death or enslavement, most of the inhabitants of these areas will have to be killed or enslaved. Accordingly, the heaviest possible fines should be imposed on persons who committed cow slaughter after these areas came under our rule, as long as they have wives, sons, daughters and bondsmen available for sale. Those who committed this crime after Falgun 1860 should be either beheaded or enslaved."⁷

Regmi adds that the slaughter of yaks in this area was permitted by the government.⁸

In another case cited by Regmi, a Damai (untouchable tailor) was sentenced to death by torture in 1862 A.D. for killing a cow. The authorities were ordered to "cut flesh from his back, apply condensed citrus juice mixed with salt (on the wounds), force him to eat (the flesh) himself, and thus kill him."⁹

Yak killing was considered a punishable offense at least as early as 1910, but the punishment in comparison with the punishment for cow killing was relatively light. For instance, in 1910 two Bhotia families from Humla (northwest Nepal) were fleeing southward because of an epidemic. They had run out of food grains and so killed and ate, one by one, three yak calves which they had brought along with them. Each person was fined Rs. 2.¹⁰

Scholars have pointed out two principles which run throughout the Nepalese legal code. One principle is that of preservation of and non-interference with traditional custom as it operates in regulating the internal affairs of various ethnic communities.¹¹ The second is that of preserving and upholding "certain high Hindu value symbols throughout the kingdom." Paramount among these symbols is the sacred cow, which is protected by law.¹²

There is obviously a certain amount of contradiction between these two principles in the case of the Bhotia groups of Nepal for whom yak-eating is a traditional custom. Indeed, this custom was implicitly recognized and disparaged in the code itself.

"The Bhotias had a very low position in the caste-framework proposed by the code. In fact one sees contemptuous references to the Bhotiya people everywhere in the code, unlike other 'Matawali' castes. The punishment for committing state offenses of certain category awarded to the Matawali castes was to lower them to the Bhote caste (Code 42:1, p. 212). Such a low estimation of the Bhotiya people undoubtedly springs from the common habit of all Bhotiya groups in Nepal of eating yak meat."¹³

III. Bhotias themselves are generally quite aware of the connection made by Hindus between meat-eating and status. In at least one area the notion of killing and consuming various kinds of animals is used to explain the origins of a caste-like system of ranking within the Bhotiya community. The following myth is recounted in Baragaon.¹⁴

'In the old days there was no caste system. Each person claimed to be higher than the next and as a result there were many arguments. So the people went to a respected lama and asked who should be considered high and who should be considered low. He told them: "Go to the forest and search for meat. Bring back whatever meat you are able to find." So they all went out to the forest. The man who brought back sheep was called "Hrewo." This was the highest caste. The one who brought goat became second in rank. He was called "Lamichen." A man who brought yak meat was given the third-ranking name: "Phalwa." The next brought dzo-ba. He was called "Mendik." The rest brought cow and dog meat. They became out-castes and were called "Ringin".'

In this short myth there is nothing to indicate recognition of the cow's sacred status. On the contrary, cow is classified along with dog in regard to its meat. The principle illustrated in the myth is that of the low status of beef-eaters; not the high status of cows.

In another, very different myth the upper-most status group in Baragaon, perhaps in imitation of the Thakalis, claims high-caste Hindu origins. In an attempt to create plausibility, the adoption of yak-meat eating by this group is also explained. The story is summarized as follows:

'In the time when eighty-four rajas ruled in Nepal, the people of Baragaon fell under the control of two different rajas. One ruled from Lo Mantang in the north and one from Thini in the south. This double subjection was a strain so the people sent a delegation to the Thakuri raja in Jumla and invited him to rule in Baragaon. A delegate came from Jumla and ascertained from the Lo Mantang and Thini rajas that each would hand over control of Baragaon to the Jumla raja if the other would. So the grandson of the Jumla raja arrived and bought the old palace in Kagbeni from the Lo Mantang raja and began to live there and rule the area. His name was Birgung raja. He and his family were high-caste Hindu Thakuris. At first they brought wives of their own caste from the south. Later one of Birgung's descendants, during a campaign to unite the area politically, married the daughter of the raja of Lo Mantang. It was at that time that the family began to follow the Buddhist religion. Before that they had never eaten yak-meat or drunk beer or distilled liquor. After receiving the daughter of the Lo Mantang raja they also began to eat yak-meat and drink chang and arak. Then in the time of Chandra Shamsher Maharaj, a communication came from Kathmandu ordering the descendants of Birgung raja that they should either refrain from eating yak-meat and drinking alcohol, or they should give up their sacred threads and become like the local people. So the descendants of Birgung replied: "'hajur sarkar' we are living in a cold place. It is impossible for us not to eat and drink these things." And so it was at that time that Birgun's family gave up wearing the sacred threads.'

While the Buddhist religion is mentioned once in this account, it appears that yak-meat and alcoholic drinks are the real things that cut off the Baragaon Thakuris from their legendary high-caste origins. The historical foundations of the account may be dubious, but the concept that it reveals is interesting: that the difference between Bhotias and high-caste Hindus lies in the consumption or non-consumption of yak-meat and alcoholic drinks. Ironically enough, this is very similar to what the Hindus themselves express in the cultural stereotypes that they impose upon the Bhotias.

Although the sacredness of the cow is primarily a religious and secondarily a legal proposition, its primary meaning for non-Hindus is in relation to status and ethnic identity. Unlike Muslims and Christians, Hindus have never subscribed to 'conversion by the sword.' Similarly, as was pointed out earlier, the Nepalese

legal code allows a certain freedom to local communities to govern their own internal affairs according to their own traditions. Thus, the fact of belonging to a Hindu kingdom and being subject to its laws has not induced the Nepalese Bhotias to abandon their own customs and traditions.

This is not to minimize the importance of status. The Bhotias, like anyone else, are concerned with raising their status in the eyes of others. But without the economic means, or more important still, the economic motivation to bring about such a major change in lifestyle as removing yak-meat from their diet, they are not likely to do so.

Footnotes

1. Following popular usage I will use the term "Bhotia" to refer to those inhabitants of the Himalayan belt, south of Tibet itself, whose cultural patterns are primarily Tibetan.
2. Srivastava, 1966, p. 181.
3. Srivastava, 1966, p. 196.
4. Furer-Haimendorf, 1966, pp. 144-5.
5. e.g., Ijima, 1963, pp. 48-52; Manzardo, 1975, p. 27; Sharma, 1977, pp. 296-7.
6. Sharma, 1977, p. 278, F.N.
7. Regulations on Ban on Cow Slaughter in Solukhumbu. Marga Badi 9, 1862. (6/662). See Regmi, 1969, p. 15.
8. Regmi, 1969, p. 15.
9. Order Regarding Punishment of Damai for Cow Slaughter. Chaitra Badi 9, 1862 (6/748). See Regmi, 1969, p. 15.
10. Regmi, 1972, pp. 193-4.
11. Regmi, 1975, p. 110 and Sharma, 1977, pp. 284-5.
12. Sharma, 1977, p. 285.
13. Sharma, 1977, p. 297. The contemptuous references towards Bhotias were removed from the code in the 1963 edition, of the legal code, which put an end to caste discrimination in the administration of the law. See Sharma, 1977, pp. 277-8, F.N.

14. Paraphrased from a translation by Krishna Lal Thakali.

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वफाडो जिल्लाका बाह्र अभिलेखहरू

मोलम ६, नं. ३

जुन, १९७६

राजा राम सुवेदी^१

भूमिका

यस लेखमा संकलित बाह्र ताम्रपत्रहरू र कागजहरू मिलाएर वफाडो जिल्लाबाट संकलन गरेको हुँ^१। धेरै कारणहरूले यी प्रतिलिपिहरूलाई सकलसंग भिडाउन सकिन; त्यसैले कहीं कहीं पाठ अस्पष्ट छ र कुट्टोको पनि छ। यसलाई 'दशरा मसरा' को रूपमा मात्र भए पनि पाठकको समझा राखीहाल्नु भनी यिनलाई प्रस्तुत गरेको छु। मूलहरू अवश्य होलान् त्यसको लागि विद्वान्हरूसँग क्षमा प्रार्थना गर्छु।

कर्नालीप्रदेश जुम्लाको इतिहास गहन छ। जुम्लाका मल्ल राजाहरूले आफ्नो राज्यको विस्तार निकै गरेका थिए। यो राज्य पूर्वमा नेपाल उपत्यका, पश्चिम, कुमाउ सम्म, उत्तरमा मोटको प्रदेश गुप्तसम्म, दक्षिणमा तराइ सम्म फैलिएको थियो^२। यस वंशका पहिला राजा नागराज पक्षि क्रमशः चाप, चापिल्ल, काशिचल्ल, काधिचल्ल, काचल्ल, अशोक चल्ल, जितारि मल्ल, आदित्य मल्ल भएको कुरा दुल्लुस्थित पृथ्वीमल्लको स्तंभ लेखले बताएको छ^३। पृथ्वी मल्ल पक्षि उनका छोरा अमयमल्ल^४ राजा भएका थिए। जुम्लीराजा नागराजको उदय विक्रमीय संवत्को बाह्रौं शताब्दीको सुरुतिर भएको पाइन्छ। यस वंशका अन्तिम राजा अमयमल्लको राज्यकाल शाके १३१३ अर्थात् वि.सं. १४४८ सम्म रहेको पाइन्छ। यसर्थ नागराज-वाट उठान भएको सिंजाली मल्ल राजवंशले करीव चार शताब्दी जति जुम्लाबाट शासन गरेको पाइएको छ। यस समय भित्र जुम्ली राजाहरूले आफ्नो शक्ति मजबूत बनाइरहेको हुँदा यस वंशको पतन भएको थिएन। तर जब अमयमल्लको शासनकाल शुरू भयो; विस्तार विस्तार स्थानीय सामन्तहरू पनि स्वतंत्र हुँदै गएका हुनाले बाइसे राज्यहरूको उत्पत्ति भयो। राजा अमयमल्ल आफ्नो पिताका पालामा सेती नदीका किनारमा उदम्बरीपुरी (हुम्राकोट-डोटी) मा अधिराज भएर बसेका थिए^५। अमयमल्ल केन्द्रीय सिंजावाट राज्य गर्दथे र उदम्बरीपुरी-लाई पनि केन्द्र बनाएको पाइन्छ^६। नागराजदेखि चल्लदै आएको राजपरंपरा अमयमल्लपक्षि टुट्यो। अनि अर्कै व्यवस्था देखाप-यो^६।

जुम्ली राजा अमयमल्लपक्षि विशाल जुम्ला राज्यको पतन भयो^७। अनि साना साना खालका टाकुरे राजाहरूले आफ्ना आफ्ना प्रशस्तिहरूमा आफूहरूलाई जे जति माथि पु-याएर महाप्रतापी र शक्तिशाली घोषणा गरे तापनि यिनीहरू आफ्नो आफ्नो सीमित राज्य-क्षेत्रमै स्वाधीन भएर बस्न थाले। अथवा एकले अर्कासँग राजनैतिक खिचोला फिकी लडन्त भिडन्त गरेर आफ्नो आफ्नो अस्तित्वको जगेर्ना गरी बस्न थाले। यी सबका फलस्वरूप विशाल मल्लराज्यका हाँगाबिँगाहरू छिनालिँदै गए र बाइसे राज्यहरू यत्र तत्र देखापर्दै आए^८। त्यसै समयमा स्वतंत्र भएको एउटा राज्य वफाडो पनि हो।

^१ श्री राजाराम सुवेदीले आधुनिक इतिहासमा स्नातकोत्तर परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण गर्नु भएको छ।

जुम्ली मल्ल राजाहरूको शक्ति पतन भएपछि तत्कालै डोटेरी राजाहरूको साम्राज्य विस्तार भयो । यिनीहरू पनि मल्लवंशका थिए तर जुम्लाका मल्लहरूसँगको हाँगी भने थिएन । यिनीहरूलाई रूँका मल्ल राजा पनि भनिन्छ । डोटेरी मल्लवंशका पराक्रमी राजा नागमल्ल थिए । त्यस समय वफाडो पनि डोटेरी राज्यकै अन्तर्गत परेको पाइन्छ । वफाडो जिल्लाको पुरानो इतिहास आजसम्म अस्पष्ट रहेको छ । त्यस भेकको विषयमा कलम उठाउने योगी नरहरिनाथले केवल वफाडो राजाहरूको वंशावली मात्र प्रकाशित गर्नु भएको छ । तर वंशावलीको कुरा मात्रै प्रामाणिक आधार हुन सक्ने । हुनत लोक साहित्य र जनश्रुतिहरू इतिहास स्रोत होइनन् भन्न खोजिएको होइन । तर शिलालेख, ताम्रपत्राभिलेख र अन्य भग्नावशेषहरूलाई पन्काएर लोकोक्तिका आधारमा मात्रै प्रामाणिक इतिहास बन्न सक्ने ।

वफाडो राज्यको इतिहासको यथार्थ खानवीन गर्न खोज्नेले त्यसभेकका ताम्रपत्रहरू र अभिलेखहरूको अध्ययन र संकलन गर्न आवश्यक पर्दछ । ताम्रपत्रहरू र अन्य सामाग्रीहरू साथै त्यससंबन्धमा टिपोट गरिएका पाण्डुलिपि वंशावलीहरूबाट^{१०} पनि त्यहाँको इतिहासमा प्रकाश पार्न केही थप मद्दत लिन सकिन्छ र वंशावलीको उपयोग यस लेखमा यसै प्रयोजनका निमित्त गरिने छ ।

वफाडो भेकमा पाइएका ऐतिहासिक सामाग्रीबाट त्यस दौत्रका रजौटाहरूको गौरव ठूलो थियो भन्ने कुरा पनि सावित हुन्छ । उनीहरू पहिले देखिनै केही मात्रामा शक्तिशाली रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा पनि यी प्रमाणहरूबाट सिद्ध गर्न सकिन्छ । नेपालको एकीकरणपूर्वसम्म वफाडो दौत्रका जनता तिब्बतको ऊन र नून, भारतको कपडा र गुडले पालिएका थिए । खाने पैदावार भने आफैले उब्जाउँथे । अल्लो र गाँजाका डाँठबाट रसा फिकी भाँग्रो बुनी आडो ढाक्थे । यी उद्योग घरेलु रूपमा आफै देखिन्छन् । त्यो व्यवसाय आजभोलि पनि त्यहाँ जीवित छ तर ऊनको अभावले सिपालु मानिस पनि बेकार बन्न पुगेका छन् ।

वफाडी भेकका मानिसहरूसँग पाइएका कुनै पनि वंशावलीमा संवत्को कीटान गरिएका छैन । वरू मनगडन्ते र गफमा सुकेका कुरा टिपी इतिहास बनाउने प्रयास गर्न खोजिएको छ । त्यत्तिपनि प्रकाश हुन सकेको छैन । त्यस्तो एउटा पाण्डुलिपि वफाडो मौलालीका भवकेशर जोशीले तयार पारेका छन् । योगी नरहरिनाथले पनि वफाडो वंशावली प्रकाशन गर्नु भएको छ तर अपूर्ण र संवत्को कीटानमा तथ्यता छैन । फेरि उहाँले वि.सं. १३६५ का घटनाहरू उल्लेख गर्ने चेष्टा गर्नु भएको छ । जुन समयमा वफाडो राज्य जुम्ली राजाहरूको अधीनमा थियो । तर केही हदसम्म स्थानीय सामन्तहरू स्वतंत्र भएका प्रमाणहरू पनि भेटिन आएका छन् ।

यस निबन्धमा संकलन गरिएका ताम्रपत्रहरूमध्ये सबभन्दा पुरानो शाके १२६४ को हुन आएको छ । जुन ताम्रपत्र फाल्गुन महिना बृहस्पति वारमा राजाधिराज परमेश्वर, परमस्तहार, परममहेश्वर, परमगुरु श्रीबालराज कुम्भकर्ण वंशाट प्रादुर्भाव भएका हरित्रस कुवरको

नाम उल्लेख है । ताम्रपत्रमा संस्कृतका श्लोकहरूको पनि उल्लेख गरिएका छन् । शाके १२६४ को कालसम्म वफाडोमा सिंजाली राजाहरूको शक्ति अझै मजबूत भएको बुझिन्छ । तर यस अभिलेखमा जुम्ली राजाहरूको कुनै उल्लेख देखिन आएको छैन । ताम्रपत्रमा राजा हरिव्रत कुवरको नाम मात्र उल्लेख छ । यसबाट यी हरिव्रत वफाडोका स्थानीय बलिया शासक रहेका भन्ने कुरा देखिन आउँछ । यस नामानुसार मिलेर नाम वफाडो वंशावलीमा भने पाइँदैन । तर वंशावली नं. (क) को क्रम १० मा र नं. (ख) को ३२ मा राजा नुरिबम्म वा नरिबम्मको नाम उल्लेख हुँदा भैले ताम्रपत्र यिनै राजाले गरिदिएको हो कि भन्ने अडकल काटेको छु, अर्थात् ताम्रपत्रका हरिव्रत सायद वंशावली (क) मा उल्लेखित नरिव्रत हुन सक्छन् भनी ठान्दछु । सिंजाली राजाहरूको वंशमा पनि राजा हरिव्रत कुवरको नाम उल्लेख छैन । अतः यी सिंजाली राजा हुन निश्चित गर्न सकिँदैन ।

यो ताम्रपत्र पाउने विशिन्ध जोशीले राजालाई चाकडी गरी दान पाएको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ । राजाको दरबारमा ज्योतिषको काम गर्नेलाई राजाले 'जोशी' पद दिएकाले अरू विभिन्न थरका ब्राह्मणहरूले पनि आफूलाई जोशी लेख्न र भन्न थालेको हुनुपर्छ । ताम्रपत्रमा दाता हरिव्रत कुवरलाई कुम्भकर्ण वंशबाट उत्पत्ति भएका भनिएको छ । कुवरको तत्कालिक अर्थ राजकुमार हो कि राजा हो त्यो स्पष्ट हुँदैन । तर यस अभिलेखमा राजाको प्रशस्ति पछि उनै हरिव्रतको नाम उल्लेख भएकोले उनी त्यसवेलाका वफाडो शासक रहेका भनी अडकल गर्न सकिन्छ । अतः यस अभिलेखले वफाडो केही हदसम्म मल्ल राज्यबाट स्वतंत्र हुन खोजेको आभास पाइन्छ । तर यतिन्जेल जुम्ला मल्ल राज्यको पतन भइसकेको थिएन । अभयमल्ल अझै शासन गर्दै थिए ।

अब प्रश्न उठ्न सक्छ; कसरी अर्धस्वतंत्र राजा हरि ब्रह्मले आफूलाई यसरी लामो प्रशस्ति बनाएर विभूषित गराउन सके त ? हुन सक्छ जुम्ला राज्यको पतनको केही अगाडि देखिनै सामन्तहरू आफ्नो स्वतंत्रता प्रकट गर्न अभ्यस्त भइसकेका थिए वा स्वतंत्र बन्ने यत्न गर्दै थिए ।

वफाडोको स्थानीय लोकइतिहासअनुसार राजा नरिवम्म सिंजा गडमा लडाईं गर्न जाँदा जुम्ली राजासँग लडाईं पर्यो । त्यस अवसरमा जुम्ली राजा मोतीमल्लले काटेर मारे । नरिवम्मका जेठा छोरा राजवम्मले बाबुको वदला लिने वेष गर्दै थिए । काल क्रमवश मोतीमल्ल वफाडो फोत्ता ढाडपिपल भन्ने ठाउँमा कर उठाउन आउँदा राजवम्मले काटेर मारिदिए । त्यसपछि वफाडो स्वतंत्र भयो भनिन्छ । तर यस लोकइतिहासलाई प्रामाणिकता दिन अझै सकिँदैन ।

यस संकलनको दास्रो क्रममा पर्ने आउने ताम्रपत्र शाके १२६६ को हो । यस ताम्रपत्रको अन्त्य वायापट्टि 'उधार शाके १३६३ जसब्रत शुभम्' भनी कुदिएको छ । जुम्ली राजा अभय-

७६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

मल्लको शाके १३१३ को अर्को ताम्रपत्र पनि पाइएको छ^{११} । यो ताम्रपत्र पनि अमयमल्लकै हो । राजा अमयमल्ल जुम्लाका अन्तिम मल्ल राजा हुन् । तर मल्लवंशको पतन पूर्वै वफाडो स्वतंत्र हुँदै आएको कुरा माथि पनि बताइयो । त्यस समयका शासकहरू धार्मिक, स्वभावका हुँदा र दान गर्ने लामो परंपरा हुनाले विशेष पर्वहरूमा जस्तै: सूर्यग्रहण, चन्द्रग्रहण आदिमा ब्राह्मणहरूलाई ताम्रपत्र लेखन लगाई मूमिदान गर्ने र कर माफ गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ ।

यो ताम्रपत्र १२६६ शाकेको हो भन्ने त स्पष्ट भयो । तर त्यसमा नै शाके १३१३ लेखी पुनः उधार गर्ने राजा जसव्रत को होलान् त भन्ने प्रश्न उठतछ । यिनको नाउँ वफाडो वंशावलीमा स्पष्टसँग मिल्दैन तापनि वंशावली नं.(क) को क्रम ६ र नं.(ख) को क्रम २६ मा दिइएको जसवन्मसँग मिल्न आउँछ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा संकल्प हाली दिएको वृत्तिमा कुनै पनि कर दण्ड, कुण्ड, दोषा, मठ, अपुताली, पोटलो, पिठायो, फप्प्या, गुप्प्या जारी चोरी जस्ता करहरूको माफ गरिएको छ । यसमा सादाँरीहरू रत्नत्रय, सूर्यचन्द्र, बुद्ध बौद्ध भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ । रत्नत्रयको अर्थ बुद्ध दर्शनका तीनवटा बहुमूल्य मन्त्रहरू भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ । ती हुन्, बुद्धम् शरणम्, संघम् शरणम्, धर्मम् शरणम् । धनवन्न वज्राचार्यले रत्नत्रयको यही अर्थ लगाउनु भएको छ^{१२} । यसबाट मल्ल राजाहरूले बुद्ध धर्मलाई श्रद्धाको दृष्टिले हेरी ती बुद्धधर्मका आदर्शहरूलाई राम्ररी मान्यता गरेको कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ । हिन्दूधर्म मान्ने हुनाले संस्कृतका नीति श्लोकहरू र सूर्यचन्द्र सादाँरी त राखिन्थ्यो नै ।

यस संकलनको तेस्रो क्रममा राजा अमयमल्लको शाके १२६६ फाल्गुन वदि ११ सोमवारको ताम्रपत्र अमिलेख प्रस्तुत छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा स्थानीय सामन्तको नाम दिइएको छैन । यसमा लामो प्रशस्ति लेखिएको छ । जसको भाव यस्तो हुन्छ :

ॐ स्वस्ति । संपूर्ण पृथ्वीको भारहरण गर्नसक्ने धैर्यवान्, कीर्तिवान्, हिमाली हाँस फाँ सेतो मोहडा भएका, सेतीनदीको किनारमा पर्ने सेगु प्रदेशमा विराजमान हुने, अतुलशक्तिशाली, पृथ्वीको भार बोक्न सक्ने, कृष्णजी जस्तै गोवर्धन पर्वत धारण गर्न सक्ने, विभिन्न सामन्तहरूका मण्डलले केन्द्रित गरिएका कमल केसर जस्ता अमयमल्लका संपूर्ण परिवारको चिरायु होस्, इत्यादि ।

माथि क्रम २ मा वयान गरिएको ताम्रपत्र पनि अमयमल्लको नै हो । तर यसमा र त्यसमा छाप बेग्ला बेग्लै छन् । राजा अमयमल्लको राजधानी उदम्बरीपुरी थियो भन्ने कुरा माथि भनियो र अरु उनको समयका ताम्रपत्रहरूमा उल्लेख छ । तर यस ताम्रपत्रमा 'सेगुड प्रदेश' भनिएकोबाट केही संशय पैदा भएको छ । पूर्ण प्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्रीले' यसलाई 'सेगुपुरी' भन्नु भएको छ^{१३} । तर यो ठाउँ कहाँ पर्छ भन्ने कुरा कुनै सूत्रबाट पनि थाहा हुन सकेको छैन । यही ठाउँ तत्कालीन अमयमल्लको राज्यको राजधानी भएको थाहा हुन्छ ।

वफादोमा पाइएको अर्को ताम्रपत्र शाके १३१२ को हो । यसमा राजा उदयसिंहको नाम उल्लेख छ । यो ताम्रपत्र पाउने राउदु भण्डारी हुन् । उनलाई श्रीराजाधिराज उदयसिंहले भूमिदान दिएको कुराको उल्लेख नभई केवल कर माफ गरेको कुरा उल्लेख छ । त्यसको साथै निजलाई रजवारी पनि दिएको कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ । रजवारी पद बडो महत्वपूर्ण पद हो । यो पद राजाले आफ्ना भाइ भैयादहल्लाई मात्र दिइन्थ्यो । तर यहाँ भण्डारीले पनि रजवारी पाएको उल्लेख छ । रजवारले कुनै निश्चित ठाउँ दरा, गखा, वा गाउँको नाइके वा राजा पक्षिको अधिकारी भन्ने बुझाउँछ । रजवारले आफ्नो आधिपत्य चौत्र भित्रका रैतीको दण्ड, कुण्ड जस्ता ह्तीसैकर उठाउने र राजालाई दाखल गर्ने गर्दथे । रजवारको चौत्रभित्र परेका अपुतालीमा उसको हक लाग्दथे । यस्तो संपत्तिको हकदार नभएको खण्डमा मात्र रजवारले राजाको नाउँवाट उपभोग गर्दथे ।

राजा उदयसिंह वफादोमी रावँशमा नभएर थलहराको राजवंशमा भएको कुरा त्यहाँको वंशावलीवाट थाहा पाइन्छ । वंशावली (डो) को क्रम ७ मा राजा उदयसिंहको नाम छ । यो ताम्रपत्र शाके १३१२ को भएकोले तत्कालीन थलहराका राजाको पता नलागेकोले केवल शंकामात्र उठाएको हुं । समय गणना गर्दा यो ताम्रपत्र थलाहारी राजा उदयसिंहभन्दा धेरैने अगाडिको हुन आउँछ । केवल नाममात्र मिल्ने हुँदा यहाँ फल्काइएको मात्र हो । वफादोमी राजा मलैवम्म (वंशावली (ख) को क्रम ३४) का छोरा कान्छा छोरा जगतिसिंहले (वंशावली (डो) को १) थलहारी राजा मोटु खड्गालाई मारी राजा भएको कुरा उल्लेख भइसकेको छ । यस विषयमा खोजन बाँकीने छ । अनुकूल वातावरण भएमा म पुनः वफादो पुगी निकर्वालि गल्ला भन्ने ठानेको छु । फेरि यस ताम्रपत्रको अन्तिम पंक्ति पनि स्पष्ट नहुनाले राम्रो अर्थ लगाउन सकिएको छैन ।

त्यस्तै अर्को ताम्रपत्र शाके १३३६ को पाइएको छ । यो ताम्रपत्रको अन्त्यमा राजा रिपुमल्लको कृप छ तर ताम्रपत्रको वर्णनमा '... अघेत्यादि विरजावलि विराजमान श्री शक्तिब्रह्म नरेद्रेण दत्त जिवल...' भनी वर्णन गरिएकोवाट पनि केही शंका उत्पत्ति भएको छ । वफादोमी राजाहरूको वंशावली (क) को क्रम १३ र (ख) को क्रम ३५ मा राजा शक्तिवम्म (सिंहको) नाम उल्लेख छ । वंशावलीका अनुसार पहिलेका राजाहरूलाई राना, त्यसपछिकालाई 'फता' फत्तापछि 'राय' त्यसपछि 'वम्म' र अन्त्यमा उनीहरूलाई 'सिंह' भन्न थालिएको पाइन्छ । वफादो तिर हालपनि वम्म भन्ने ठकुरीहरू छन्; जसको गोत्र सिंहसँग मिल्छ । तर विवाह लेनदेन चलाएको पाइन्छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित राजा शक्तिब्रह्म भन्ने वंशावलीका शक्ति-सिंहसँग मिल्ने हुँदा उनै रहेछन् कि भन्ने अनुमान गरेको छु ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा राजा शक्तिब्रह्मको नाम उल्लेख भए तापनि यसको अन्त्यमा रिपुमल्लको कृप छ । समयको गणना गर्दा शाके १३१३ पश्चात् सिजाली राजाहरूको राज्य टुक्रिइ

७८ एस एन ए एस जर्नेल, भोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

सकेको र साना तिना बाइसे चौवसे राज्यहरूको उत्पत्ति भएको थाहा पाइन्छ । त्यसैले यसै ताम्रपत्रका रिपुमल्ल जुम्लाका राजा अवश्य होइनन् भन्ने प्रमाणित हुन्छ । जुम्ला राजा रिपुमल्लको समय शाके १२०१ पौष वदि ५ को ताम्रपत्र अनुसार र शाके १२३४ को ताम्रपत्र अनुसार^{१४} यस ताम्रपत्रका रिपुमल्ल मन्दा सयवर्षा मन्दा अगाडको हुन आउँछ । यस प्रसङ्गमा अर्को एउटा रिपुमल्लको उल्लेख भएको पश्चिम त्रिशुली नुवाकोटको नारायण मन्दिरमा स्थित वि.सं. १४६८ (शाके १३६३) को दीपिका (पानस विशेष) मा उत्कीर्ण अभिलेख^{१५} । त्यसका साथै डोटीको वंशावली र ताम्रपत्रहरूको अध्ययनबाट पनि एउटा रिपुमल्लको शाके १३३४ को ताम्रपत्र फेला परेको छ । हाम्रो यस संकलनमा रिपुमल्लको समय डोटीको ताम्रपत्र र वंशावलीका रिपुमल्ल संगसंगै पर्ने आउँदछ । अतः यी अवश्यै डोटीका राजा रिपुमल्ल हुन् भन्ने ठहरिन आउँछ । नुवाकोटका रिपुमल्ल पनि यिनै डोटीका रिपुमल्ल हुनुपर्दछ ।

धनवज्र वज्राचार्यज्यूले वर्णन गर्नु भए अनुसार रिपुमल्लको राज्य पूर्वमा नुवाकोटसँग फे-लिएको थियो । यसबाट के थाहा हुन्छ भने सिजाली राजाहरूको विशाल राज्यको पतन भएपछि डोट्याली मल्ल राजाहरू शक्तिशाली भएर निस्किएका थिए र त्यसवेला वफाडो समेत आफ्नो कब्जामा पारेका रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा यो शाके १३२५ को ताम्रपत्रबाट अडकल गर्न सकिन्छ । त्यसवेला वफाडोमा शक्तिव्रत राजा भएको कुरा अन्य ताम्रपत्रबाट र वफाडो वंशावलीबाट थाहा हुन आउँछ ।

डोटीका राजाहरूको पनि लामो वंशावली फेला परेको छ । यो मल्ल राजवंशका प्रथम राजा वैदरवत राजा भनी लेखिएको छ । देवकान्त पन्तको डोटी इतिहासको खण्डमा राजा रिपुमल्ल पछि कल्याण मल्लको नाम उल्लेखित छ^{१६} । तर मसँग भएको वंशावलीमा^{१७} केही फरक देखिन आएको छ ।

यस वंशावलीको १०१ औं पुस्ताको नाम खाली छाडी १०२ औं संख्यामा राजा कल्याणी मल्लको नाम उल्लेख छ ।

यो शाके १३३६ को ताम्रपत्र वफाडो राजा शक्तिव्रत (वम्म) ले डोटीका राजा रिपुमल्लको अधीनमा रही गरी दिएको हुन् । ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेखित दान पाउने सागर जोशीलाई चन्द्रग्रहणमा खेत दान गरेको कुरा... शक्तिव्रतनरेद्रेण दत्त जीवल... भन्ने वाक्यांशबाट थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । किनभने आजसम्म पनि वफाडो स्थानीय माथामा जलखेती गरिने जमीनलाई जिउलो वा ज्यूलो भन्ने चलन छ । राजा धर्मात्मा (विचारका) हुनाले चन्द्रग्रहणमा तारका शान्ति गरी दान दिएको थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रको १३ पंक्तिमा 'छत्तिसैकर छाडि था लग्हु...' भनिएकोबाट वफाडोमा पनि त्यस समयमा रैतीलाई सुदूर पश्चिम नेपालमा सर्वत्र चलेको ३६ कर लगाईदो रहेछ भन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ । ताम्रपत्र दान पाउने व्यक्तिलाई भने यस्तो ३६ कर माफ गरिने चलन

थियो । ३६ करमा धेरै प्रकारका कर हुन्थे । जुन कर वफाडोमा धेरै पछिसम्म प्रचलित भइ-
रहेको थियो १८ ।

त्यस्तै अर्को ताम्रपत्र पनि शाके १३६८ को छ । यसको पुहारमा राजा कल्याण मल्लको
छाप छ । तर ताम्रपत्रमा राजाको प्रशस्ति तथा नाम भने अर्कै व्यक्तिको छ । त्यसैले यो
ताम्रपत्रले पनि रिपुमल्लको जस्तै भ्रम पार्न सक्ने थियो होला । किनभने जुम्लीराजा आदित्य-
मल्लका छोरा पनि कल्याण मल्ल हुन् । तर यिनको समय यी कल्याण मल्लको भन्दा ठीक
सय वर्ष अघिको थियो । वफाडो कल्याण मल्लको समयसम्म पनि डोटीको अधीनमा थियो
भन्ने कुरा यस ताम्रपत्रबाट स्पष्ट देखिन्छ १९ । अब प्रश्न उठ्न सक्छ कि वफाडो त जुम्ली-
राजाहरूको अधीनमा थियो, डोटेरी राजाहरूको अधीनमा कसरी पुग्यो त? शाके १३०६ मा
डोटेरी राजा नागमल्लको शक्ति निकै बढेको हुनाले उनले वफाडोलाई पनि आफ्नो अधीनमा
लिए होलान् । डोटेरी मल्ल जुम्लाबाट नआइ कुमाउ तर्फबाट आएका भनी डोटेरी मल्ललाई
जुम्लासँग संबन्ध नभएका भनी देवकान्त पन्तले भन्नु भएको छ २० । मसँग भएको डोटेरी वंशावली-
मा भने रेका राजा सूर्यवंशी हुन्, पहिले उनीहरू अयोध्याबाट डडेलधुराको अजमेरमा बसे ।
अजमेरबाट नागमल्ल राजाले डोटी दीपायलमा राजधानी बनाएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा उल्लेख छ ।

राजा कल्याण मल्लको छाप भएको यस शाके १३६८ को ताम्रपत्र वमोजिमको दान
वफाडो राजा शक्ति ब्रह्मले दिएको कुरा प्रशस्तिबाट पनि थाहा पाइन्छ । जस्तै '...
स्वस्ति श्री महेश्वरस्य शुरशिखरी प्रत्यातिः प्रभूताः विराजमान सपादलक्षिणः आर्यविपदा-
धीश्वर समिदोराजधान्या श्रीमत्यां वफाडहनगर्याम् श्री शक्तिब्रह्म राये...' भन्ने पंक्तिबाट
राजा शक्तिब्रह्म भएको कुरा निर्विवाद छ ।

वफाडोको शाके १३४० को वि.सं. १४७५ चैत्र महीनाको अर्को ताम्रपत्र प्राप्त भएको छ ।
यसमा परैबम्म सिरवम्म र संसारवम्म राजालेको नाम कुँदिएको छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेखित
व्यक्ति राजा नभई शायद रजवार थिए कि भने जस्तो मलाई लाग्दछ । वफाडो राज्य पनि
शायद धेरै चिराहरूमा विभाजित थियो, जस्तै; सूनी, धुली, वफाडो, थलहरा, देउली,
काँडा, कुण्ड, कोल्टी, थली इत्यादि । यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेखित राजा श्रीवम्म (शिरवम्म)
वफाडो सून्याल वंशका भएको कुरा वंशावली (ग) को क्रम १ बाट थाहा हुन्छ । त्यस-
कारण राजा शिरवम्म ताम्रपत्रका र वंशावलीका श्रीवम्म एउटै व्यक्ति हुन सक्छन् । वफा-
डो वंशावलीमा त राजा श्रीवम्मलाई डाडो तुल्सीपुरका राजा हुन गए भनी वर्णन गरिएको
छ । यस ताम्रपत्रका अन्य दुइजना वम्महरू को हुन् भन्ने कुराको प्रसंग आउँछ । वफाडो राजा-
को हाँगो सून्याल वंशावली (ग) मा पनि उल्लेख छैन । तर मल्लवम्मको नाम भने वंशावली
(ख) को ३४ क्रम उल्लेख छ । उनी राजवम्मका छोरा भएको वंशावलीद्वारा बुझिन्छ । तर
संसारवम्म को हुन् त्यो कुरा थाहा हुन सकेको छैन ।

८० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम ६, नं.२ (जून १९७६)

यस ताम्रपत्रको मध्यभागको केही पाठको अर्थ स्पष्ट हुँदैन । यसको अन्त्यको पंक्तिमा '... वेजातिया ब्राह्मणको पन दौ धन नवाहा'... भन्ने वाक्यांश पाइन्छ । यसको आशय दान पाउने ब्राह्मणका सन्तान वा हकवाला पनि नभएको खण्डमा राजाले त्यस्तो दान गरेको जमीन हरण गर्न नमिल्ने हुनाले वेजातिया ब्राह्मणलाई भएपनि दिनु भनेको हो कि जस्तो लाग्दछ । निग्रह दिएर भएपनि त्यस्तो स्थितिमा वेजातिया ब्राह्मणवाट सो जमीन लिने भनेको कुरा अलि स्पष्ट हुँदैन ।

राजा संसारव्रत राउलाको भनी योगी नरहरिनाथले^{२१} शाके १३१८ को एउटा ताम्रपत्र प्रकाशन गर्नुभएको छ । समयक्रमवाट यी संसारव्रत जुम्लाका कल्याली राजा भएको जस्तो बुझिन्छ । तर यो ताम्रपत्र भने शाके १३४० को हुनाले यस समयसम्म त वफाडो जुम्लावाट राम्रै स्वतंत्र भइसकेको प्रमाणित हुने हुनाले अब वफाडोमा कल्याली राजाको नामवाट ताम्रपत्र गरिनु पर्ने स्थिति भए जस्तो लाग्दैन । अतः यी संसारव्रत वफाडोका अर्कै व्यक्ति हुनुपर्छ ।

त्यस्तै शाके १४२० को अर्को ताम्रपत्र वफाडोमा पाइएको छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित राजाको प्रशस्तिमा '... श्रीराजाधिराज भावसिंह रज्वार चिरंजयतु...' भनिएको छ । वफाडो वंशावली (क) को क्रम १५ र (ख) को क्रम ३७ मा पनि राजा भाउसिंहको नाम उल्लेख छ । राजा भावसिंहले तिल कुश लिई ब्राह्मणलाई चरु पु-याउने हेतुले भूमिदान दिएर सबै करहल्वाट मुक्त गरिएको कुरा यस ताम्रपत्रवाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा '... शक्ति सिंह सुजानसिंहकी भाणा भावसिंह रज्वारले मयाचितयो दसुजोइसिले पाइ...' भनी उल्लेख भएको वाट पक्का पनि भावसिंह राजा शक्ति सिंह र सुजान सिंहका सन्तान रहेछन् भन्ने प्रमाणित हुन्छ । राजा भावसिंहले आफ्ना बाबु बाजेको भाकालाई थाप्न यो ताम्रपत्र दान गरेको संकेत पनि यसमा दिइएको छ । वफाडो यसवेलासम्म त जुम्ली र डोटेली राज्यबाट पूर्णतः स्वतंत्र भएकोले राजाहरूले स्वच्छन्दतापूर्वक दान गर्न र ताम्रपत्र प्रदान गर्ने जस्ता जिम्मेवारीहरू आफूले गरेको कुरा पनि थाहा हुन्छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित वफाडो राजाहरू र वफाडो वंशावलीमा टिपोट गरिएका नामावलीको परस्परमा मेल खान्छ । यो ताम्रपत्र दान दिँदा 'रज्वार पायल भूमिपसामह संकल्प गरिएको' भनिएकोवाट राजाले स्वयं रज्वारहरूसँग पनि सल्लाह गरी भूमिदान गरेको हो कि जस्तो लाग्दछ । हुन पनि रज्वार पद राजाको दाहिने हात मानिन्थ्यो । भाइ भैयाद र चाकडी गर्नेलाई मात्र रज्वारी दिइन्थ्यो । तसर्थ राजा भावसिंह वफाडो वंशावलीमा उल्लिखित भाउसिंह एउटै व्यक्ति हुन् कि भन्ने शंका गरेको छ ।

यस संकलनको नवौँ ताम्रपत्र शाके १६२३ को हो । यसमा उल्लिखित व्यक्तिहरूको नामले वफाडो राजाको प्रतिनिधित्व गरेको देखिन्छ । तर वफाडो वंशावलीमा यिनीहरूको नाम उल्लेख नभई रज्वारहरूको नामको वंशमा मात्र भएको छ । त्यस कारणले यी व्यक्तिहरू वफाडो

तल्कोटका रजवार हुन सकछन् । वंशावली नं. (घ) को क्रम ६-७ मा भूपतिसिंह र माधुसिंह-
को नाम उल्लेख छ । फेरि नामको प्रशस्तिमा नै श्रीराजाधिराज भन्ने शब्द पनाले यिनीहरू
राजा रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा अफ सिद्ध हुन आउँछ । यहाँ एउटा कुरामा भने प्रकाश पार्न आवश्यक
ठान्दछु । त्यो हो वफाडोका सामन्त राजाहरू जुम्ला र डोटीका राजाहरूबाट स्वतंत्र भए-
पछि आफ्नै दौत्रमा पनि विभिन्न टुकामा विभाजित भए । यो विभाजन संघर्ष र लडाइ-
द्वारा नभई केवल माइ भैयादको अंश वण्डाको हिसावले भयो । त्यसै कारणले वफाडोको
तल्कोटमा रजवारी पाइ वसेका वफाडोी राजाका सन्तानहरूले आफूलाई राजा भन्दा
तल्लो ठान्दैनथे । त्यस कारणले गर्दा यहाँ भूपतिसिंह र माधुसिंह रजवार भएर पनि आफू-
लाई श्रीराजाधिराज भनी ताम्रपत्र दिएका पाउँछौं । ठकुरीहरूको व्यक्तिगत बोली भाषामा
राजा, राजकुमार र बाबुसाहेब जस्ता लवजहरू हालसम्म पनि छँदै छन् भने पहिले पनि त्यस्तै
प्रचलन हुन पनि सक्थ्यो होला । वफाडोको केन्द्रीय राज्यबाट विभिन्न दौत्रमा भाइहरू गई
यताउति हरिहर वसेका छन्, र यो विभाजन पहिलेबाट नै शुरू भएको थियो । तिनीहरूले
केही हदसम्म स्वतंत्र राज्य गर्दथे ।

वफाडोी राजा शक्ति सिंहको समयमा तल्कोटको वरिपरि बाइकोटे हाटिया राजा र
सिगाखम्म भन्ने राजाहरू थिए भन्ने त्यहाँको लोक इतिहास छ । यी बाइकोटे राजाहरूलाई
राजा शक्ति सिंहले आफ्नो वशमा पारी कर उठाउन थाले । प्रशासनको दृष्टिले पहाडी सण्ड
हुँदा त्यहाँको अधिकार आफ्नो हातमा पार्न वफाडोी राजाले मेदिनीसिंहलाई पठाए भन्ने
लोक इतिहास वफाडोमा निकै प्रचलित छ । तल्कोटका रजवार मेदिनीसिंहले आफूलाई
वफाडोबाट स्वतंत्र बनाउन सकेनन् वा चाहेनन् । त्यो कुरालाई परे छोडी उनले ताम्रपत्र दिने
गरेका रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित हुन आउँछ । उनको अधिकारमा रूक्का र ताम्रपत्रहरू गरि-
दिने अधिकार भने भएको देखिन्छ ।

राजा भूपतिसिंह र माधुसिंहले विक्रमधराला र सिगाख धरालालाई उनीहरूको पहुँच
पर्ने जाने ठाउँको अकर गरी राजाको चाकडीमा रूजु रहने व्यवस्था मिलाएको आशय बुझिन्छ ।
यी धरालाहरू बाइकोटे हटीया राजा सिगाखम्मका सन्तान हुन सकछन् । फेरि यिनीहरू
त्यसदौत्रका प्रभावशाली व्यक्तिहरू हुनाले राजाले आफ्नो वशमा पार्न उनीहरूलाई ताम्रपत्र
गरिदिएको पनि हुन सक्छ । किनभने सामन्तवादी राज्यमा एउटा व्यक्तिलाई हात लिन
सकेपछि बहुसंख्यक व्यक्तिहरूको केही मतलब राखिँदैन । ताम्रपत्रमा यस्तो वाक्यांश छः

‘राइकी शासनी मूल्य छोटो भयाका दिन ठाकुरका नाति पुतले पाली खानु... ये
वाचाभित्र धनदेलो भग्ननेन घात्याकि घात सुनैन ।। घात्याकि घात सुन्या राजाको धर्मवादी
जालाः विक्रम धरालाका नाति पुतले ठाकुर खाँदैनन्... ।

उपर्युक्त वाक्यांशको तात्पर्य यही हो कि राजा भूपतिसिंह ठाकुरको साथ विक्रम
धरालाका सन्तानले नछोड्ने र राजाले पनि उनीहरूको कुमलो नठान्नु भने जस्तो लाग्दछ ।

यो ताम्रपत्र पहिले वर्णन गरिएका ताम्रपत्रहरू भन्दा केही भिन्न र राजनैतिक पाराको
देखिन्छ । ग्रहण जस्ता पर्वहरूमा दिइने ताम्रपत्र जस्तो ढाँचाको यो ताम्रपत्र छैन । यो त

८२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

केवल चाकडीमा लागी टहल गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई दिइएको भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट उल्लेख गरेको पाइन्छ ।

शाके १६६१ (वि.सं. १८२६) को अर्को ताम्रपत्र वफाडो राजा समुद्रसिंहको हो । वफाडो वंशावलीमा (क) २४ (ख) क्रम ४८ मा राजा समुद्रसिंहको नाम छ । राजा समुद्रसिंहको नाम वफाडो चौत्रमा निकै प्रख्यात छ । यस ताम्रपत्रमा राजाले मर्त्याको जमीन दशनाली (४ मुरी १० पाथी माटो) र ५ माना सितो (वक्स) बुढाथापा काजीलाई दिएको कुरा उल्लेख गरेको छ । यो वक्स राजाको कजाइ गरे वापत दिइएको जस्तो बुझिएको छ ।

१६औं शताब्दीका बाइसे राजाहरूले पहिलेको मर्यादा विपरीत धर्ममा संकुचित नीति अपनाएको कुरा हामी चाल पाउँछौं । किनभने त्यस बेलाका ताम्रपत्रहरूमा बुद्धबोध, रत्न त्रयाया, जस्ता सादगी राख्ने प्रचलन थियो जुन पछि समाप्त गरिएको हुन्छ । वफाडोको उत्तर पूर्वमा 'जा' भन्ने भोटे जातिहरू बसोवास गर्दछन् । उनीहरूले पहिले बुद्ध धर्म मान्दथे तर वफाडो राजाहरूले उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो कब्जामा लिएपछि बुद्ध धर्मलाई कुनै पनि मान्यता नदिएकाले र तिब्बत तर्फबाट पनि उनीहरू अलग हुन गस्काले यिनीहरूले एउटा मिश्रित धर्म मान्न थालेको हामी पाउँछौं ।

राजा समुद्रसिंहको नेपालको स्थितिको यहाँ केही चर्चा गर्नु उचित होला ठान्दछु । वि.सं. १८२६ सम्म गोरखाधिपति पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका तीनै शहर जिति सकेका थिए । सुदूरपश्चिमाञ्चल चौत्रका बाइसे राज्यहरू भने आफ्नै स्वतंत्रताको श्वास फेर्दै थिए । यद्यपि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले त्यतापट्टि विजय गर्ने विचार राखेकै थिए तापनि सबै तारतम्य मिल्नसकेको थिएन । वि.सं. १८०० मा पृथ्वीनारायण शाह काशी जाँदा जाजरकोटका राजासँग उनको पहिलोपल्ट परिचय भयो र उनीसँग सन्धि पनि गरेको हामी पाउँछौं । उक्त सन्धिमा यदि गोरखा राज्यको विस्तार भयो भने जाजरकोटले गोरखाको वाटो छेक्ने काम नगर्ने । त्यस्तै जाजरकोटको राज्यले विस्तार ग-यो भने गोरखाले कुनै प्रकारको बाधा नगर्ने भन्ने उल्लेख उक्त सन्धिमा थियो^{२२} । त्यस्तै सन्धि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले जुम्लासँग पनि गरेको पाइन्छ । त्यसैक्रममा उनले योगी भगवन्त नाथलाई पत्र लेख्दा 'गोर्खा' र जुम्लाको एकत्व गराउने भन्ने नीति अपनाएको पाउँछौं^{२३} । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको सारा नेपालका भूरे राज्यहरूलाई एउटै साङ्गुलीमा बाँधी एउटै विशाल नेपाल राज्य बनाउने सपना केहीहदसम्म विपना बन्न लागिसकेको थियो । तर उनको छिट्टै देहान्त हुनाले त्यो कार्य अलपत्र रह्यो । जुनकाम पछि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका कान्छा कुमार बहादुर शाहबाट मात्र पूरा हुन सक्यो ।

१८४७ मा वफाडो, धलहरा र कान्नाले अमरसिंह थापासँग सन्धि गरे, लडाइ गरेनन्^{२४} । त्यस राज्यबाट नेपालले वार्षिक कर लिन थालियो । त्यसपूर्व वफाडो डाँटीको अधीनमा भएको कुरा पहिले भनियो । डाँटेले राजा मान्छाता शाहीका पालादेखि नै डाँटीको वफाडो सँग कट्टर शत्रुता रहेको बुझिन्छ । यस्तो अवस्थामा अमरसिंह थापासँग डाँटी लड्न तयसियो ।

तर वफादो अहम र बाजुराले डोटीलाई सहयोग दिसन्^{२५}। वफादो र अहामी राजाले गोरखालीको समर्थन गरेकाले नै सामन्ती राज्य पदवी पाउन सके। अन्त्यमा २०१७ सालको 'रजौटा उन्मूलन ऐन' नेपाल गजेटमा प्रकाशित भएपछि रजौटाहरू खारेज गरिए।

राजा समुद्रसिंहको समयसम्म वफादो पूर्ण स्वतंत्र थियो। नेपालको एकीकरणको आमास पनि स्पष्ट भइसकेको थिएन।

अर्को ताम्रपत्र शाके १४८४ को हो। यसको एउटा नौलो पत्र छ। त्यो हो यो ताम्रपत्र दान दिने राजा रजौटा वा रजवारको कुनै नाम उल्लेख भएको छैन। यो ताम्रपत्र वि.सं. १६१६ को हो। त्यस समयमा वफादो राजा जितारीसिंह भएको कुरा नरहरिनाथको वंशावली^{२६} बाट थाहा हुन्छ।

वफादो जिलाभित्र यस्ता ताम्रपत्रहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा पाइन्छन्, तर तिनको जन्म खोजी भएको छैन। धेरै जसो ताम्रपत्रका सकलहरू वफादोबाट बाहिर गइसकेको कुरा पनि आशंका हुन्छ। त्यस दोत्रमा पुग्ने बुद्धिजीवीले आफै उठाएर सकल गायब गरिदिने गनाले कतिको मर्का पर्छ भनी व्यानर्णन यहाँ परोइन। उहाँहरूले लगेका सकली ताम्रपत्रहरूलाई छिट्टै प्रकाशन गरिदिने भए वरू इतिहासको अन्वेषण गर्नेहरूलाई मदत पुग्न जान्थ्यो।

यस ताम्रपत्रको संकलनको अन्त्यमा एउटा बाखलागदो पत्र पनि समावेश गरेको छ। त्यो शाके वा विक्रम संवत् यति बेलाको हो भनी निश्चय गर्न सकिएको छैन। यो पत्रको वायाँ किनारमा 'पत्र चिनपाट' भनी लेखिएको छ। यसको भाव चीनबाट पठाएको पो हो कि भन्ने शंका उठ्न गएको छ। पत्र पठाउने राजाको नाम 'श्री महाराजधिराज चक्रसुदर्शन शाहज्यू' भनी लेखिएको छ। यो कुरा त्यस पत्र भएको रातो रंगको चारकुने छाप र बीचमा चक्र बनाइएको बाट थाहा पाइन्छ। त्यस चक्रको चारै तिर ढाकने गरी राजा चक्रसुदर्शन शाहको नाम पनि लेखिएको छ। चक्रसुदर्शन शाह कहाँका राजा हुन्? सामान्यतया नामको वनावट र भाषाको ढाँचा हेर्दा उनी जुम्लाका कल्यालीराजा सुदर्शन शाह हुन् कि भन्ने शंका लाग्दछ। तर कल्याली राजा सुदर्शन शाहले आफूलाई सुदर्शन चक्रप्रसातज्यू लेखिएको कहिँ पनि भेटिन्न। यिनले शाके १६६७ मा जुम्लामा विशाल राजमल्ल बनाउन लगाएको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ। यस पत्रमा उल्लेखित राजा सुदर्शन शाह यिनै हुन् भन्न साझैँ कठिन पर्न गएको छ।

यस पत्रमा उल्लिखित राजा चक्रसुदर्शन शाहले चीनबाट लेखेका हुन् कि भन्ने शंका पनि उठेको छ। चीनबाट पत्र पठाइनुको अर्थ राजा स्वयं चीनमा गएर लेखेको भन्ने पनि बुझिन्छ। उनले आफ्ना मानिसलाई खबर पठाएको हो कि भन्ने एउटा अडकल हुन्छ। अर्को कुरा यस पत्रको एक वाक्यांशमा '... राजा राइमान भण्डारी सायुराजा पुग्या समाचार पायाँ...' भन्ने वाक्यको अर्थ लगाउँदा अर्को उत्कण्ठा र जिज्ञासा पैदा गर्दछ। राइमान भण्डारी भन्ने कहाँका राजा हुन् त्यो कुरा पनि यस पत्रमा खुलेको छैन। फेरि अर्को वाक्यांशमा ...

८४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

हुम्लीका अर्थ सुन हाम्रो वचन मानौं: बोल विन्ति गरौं: भन्या होली भनी लेखिएको बाट राजा राइमान भण्डारी हुम्लाका राजा पो हुन् कि भन्ने तर्फ उठ्न आउँछ ।

यस पत्रको ध्वनि विचार गर्दा हुम्लीराजा राइमान भण्डारी जुम्ला दरवारमा पुगेर वसेपछि जुम्लाबाट चीनमा वसेका राजालाई पत्र लेखियो होला । त्यो खबर पाई राजाले आफ्ना काजी महेश्वर सिंहलाई निर्देशन गरेका होलान् जस्तो लाग्दछ । राजा चक्रसुदर्शन शाहको भनाइ बुझ्दा उनले हुम्लीसँग मित्रता राख्ने सुझाव पोखेको पाइन्छ । जे भएपनि हुम्ली राजासँग राम्रो मैत्री कायम गर्नु भन्ने मतलबको यो पत्र भएको पाइन्छ ।

यस पत्रको अन्त्यतिर राजा चक्रसुदर्शन शाहले महेश्वर सिंहलाई असोजका दिनमित्रे दोत्रपुरमा आफ्नै आइपुग्नु पर्ने छ भनी तोक लगाए जस्तो गरी ताकिता गरिएको छ । यस वाक्यबाट पनि उनी भ्रमणमा गएका रहेछन् भन्ने पक्का हुन आउँछ । अथवा महेश्वर सिंहलाई हुम्लामा पठाएर राजा चीनतर्फ गए । अनि उनलाई सुलाह लेखी आफ्नो अनुपस्थितिमा छिटै दोत्रपुरमा आउनु भन्ने लेखिएको हो कि भन्ने शंका पनि उत्पन्न भएको छ । यदि त्यस अर्थले यो पत्र लेखिएको भए चक्रसुदर्शन शाहको राजधानी दोत्रपुर हुनु पर्छ भन्ने कुरा यस पत्रबाट सिद्ध हुन्छ । यस कारण राजा चक्रसुदर्शन शाह राजधानी बाहिर चीनमा पुगेका भन्ने कुरा पनि स्पष्ट हुन आएको छ । पूर्ण प्रकाश नेपाल यात्रीले यो पत्रलाई सेतीका तारा पृष्ठ ५४ मा प्रकाशित गर्नु भएको छ । यो पत्रको व्याख्या नगरी मूलमात्रे प्रकाशित गर्नु भएकोले उहाँबाट केही टण्टा निकालिएको छैन । तर यो पत्रको बायाँ किनारमा 'पत्र चिनपाट' भन्ने वाक्यले छुटाई दिनु भएकोले कहाँबाट पठाएको भन्ने कुरा मिति र तिथि जस्तै अस्पष्ट रहेको छ । 'यात्री' जीले म भन्दा १ वर्ष अगाडि यो पत्र बफाडो तल्कोट जंग-बहादुरसिंहबाट संकलन गर्नु भएकोले छुटन पनि गयो होला ।

टिप्पणीहरू

१. बफाडो जिल्लामा म २०३४ श्रावणदेसि २०३५ ज्येष्ठसम्म रा.वि.से. विद्यार्थीको रूपमा वसेँ । त्यहाँ वस्ता मैले यी पत्रहरू संकलन गरें । यस तर्फ दाज्यू चेतन्द्रजङ्ग 'हिमाली' ले मलाई ज्ञान दिनुभएथ्यो । अरू सज्जनहरू पनि मैले गुन मान्नुपर्नेमा हुनु हुन्छ; जसको सहयोगले यो लेख तयार भयो ।
२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, बेन्नु अंक २, पृष्ठ १२२ ।
३. मोहनप्रसाद खनाल, मध्यकालीन अभिलेख, पृष्ठ १६ ।
४. सत्यमोहन जोशी, कर्णाली लोक संस्कृति खण्ड १, पृष्ठ ८० ।
५. ऐ.ऐ. पृष्ठ ऐ.ऐ.
६. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, कर्णाली प्रदेश एक विटो अध्ययन, पृष्ठ ४४ ।

7. Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma, Preliminary Study of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal, p.19; "The Malla kingdom destroyed after Abhya Malla and was divided into small principalities controlled by local rulers. Soon after it we hear about three rulers with full imperial titles in three separate regions ..."

८. सत्यमोहन जोशी, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ ६४ ।

९. योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्रकाश, खण्ड १, पृष्ठ ५८८ ।

१०. वंशावलीहरूमा क्रमशः

(क) वफाडो जिला व्यांशी गाउँ पंचायतका जगतवहादुर सिंहसँग भएको वंशावली सवै-मन्दा पुरानो छ । निज हालसम्म वफाडो चौघानपाटा कोटका पुजारी मह वसेका छन् । उनीसँग भएको वंशावली यस प्रकारको छः-

ब्रह्मया सतनातयो तपवताम् नारायणो रक्षातः
राजा शत्रु हरण्य विधाति फणा रथी ॥
आरोग्यम् तनुवातसहरोग वेचातनो माह्वतो
भक्तो तिष्ठति भारति तपने लक्ष्मिवरम् तिष्ठतु ॥
आरोग्य चन्द्र वनिलोनलश्च द्यौ भूमिरायो हृदयं पमश्च
अरुश्चरात्रीः उमयेश्च सन्ध्या धर्मो भिजानासि नलश्च वृद्धिम् ॥

चितौली गढवाट आयाका वफाडो राजाको वंशावली लेख्येते

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| ५. राजा कटक-देव | ६. राजा वाघदेव |
| ७. विष्णुदेव | ८. नागदेव |
| ९. जसदेव (वम्म) | १०. नुरिवम्म |
| ११. राजवम्म | १२. रतिवम्म |
| १३. शक्ति सिंह | १४. सुजानसिंह |
| १५. माउसिंह | १६. भीमसिंह |
| १७. पूर्णसिंह | १८. महेन्द्र सिंह |
| १९. दीलिपसिंह | २०. पृथ्वी सिंह |
| २१. रत्नसिंह | २२. कल्याण सिंह |
| २३. अमर सिंह | २४. समुद्र सिंह |
| २५. रघुनाथसिंह | २६. इन्द्र सिंह |
| २७. गजराजसिंह | |

(ख) वफाडो मौलाली गा.पं. जुजीका वफांगी राजाका राजगुरु भवकेश जोशीसँगको वफांगी राजाहरूको वंशावलीः-

अत्र वफांगी राजा चन्द्रवंशी काश्यप गोत्र श्री धामीराजाकी वंशावली राजाका नाउँ चितौली गढवाट आयदेणिका राजाका नाम लिख्येते ॥ इतिः

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| १. हरिवंश राना | २. | ३. |
| २६. जसैवम्म | ३०. शिववम्म | ३१. रतनीवम्म |
| ३२. नरिवम्म | ३३. राजवम्म | ३४. मलैवम्म |
| ३५. शक्तिवम्म (सिंह) | ३६. सुजानसिंह | ३७. माउसिंह |
| ३८. पृथ्वीसिंह | ३९. जितारीसिंह | ४०. इन्द्रसिंह |
| ४१. भैरवसिंह | ४२. दीलिपसिंह | ४३. महेन्द्रसिंह |

८६ सि.एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, =.२ (जुन १९७६)

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| ४४. पृथ्वीसिंह | ४५. रतनीसिंह | ४६. कल्याणसिंह |
| ४७. अम्बरसिंह | ४८. समुन्द्रसिंह | ४९. रघुनाथसिंह |
| ५०. इन्द्रसिंह | ५१. गजराजसिंह | ५२. मूपिन्द्रसिंह |
| ५३. विक्रमवहादुरसिंह | ५४. जयपृथ्वीवहादुरसिंह | |

(ग) वफाद० मेलविसौना तल्कोटका जंगवहादुर सिंहसंग वफांगी, थलहारी र सून्याल वंशावली एउटै कागजमा छ तर यहाँ सुनीकोटे सून्याल राजाहरूको मात्र नाम उल्लेख गरेको छ । उनीहरूलाई वम्म भनिन्छ ।

मलैवम्म (वफाद०राजा) का कान्छा छोरा

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| १. श्रीवम्म | २. शिववम्म | ३. सुन्तीवम्म |
| ४. मेदिनीवम्म | ५. रोसावम्म | ६. सारीवम्म |
| ७. सुरिवम्म | ८. मेधावम्म | ९. गोपीवम्म ई: |

(घ) निज जंगवहादुर सिंहसंग भएको तल्कोट रजवारहरूको वंशावली यस प्रकार छ:-
महेन्द्रसिंह (वफाद०राजा) का कान्छा छोरा

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| १. मेदिनीसिंह | २. दीलिपसिंह | ३. प्रतापसिंह |
| ४. दलसिंह | ५. वीरसिंह | ६. भोपतिसिंह |
| ७. माधुसिंह | ८. भरतसिंह ई: | |

(ङ) वफाद०का जंगवहादुर सिंहसंग थलहारी राजाको वंशावली पनि पाइएको छ, जुन यस प्रकार छ:-

शक्ति सिंह (वफाद० राजा) का माइ थलहरामा पुगी मोट्ट खड्कालाई मारी राजा भए । उनको नाम जगति सिंह हो ।

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| १. जगति सिंह | २. जैदेउ | ३. पालमदेउ |
| ४. महेन्द्रदेउ | ५. काण्डदेउ | ६. लक्ष्मण सिंह |
| ७. उदयसिंह | ८. कल्याणसिंह | ९. दीली सिंह |
| १०. जितारी सिंह | ११. नारायण सिंह | १२. भीम सिंह |
| १३. मुकुटी सिंह ई: | | |

११. मोहन प्रसाद खनाल, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ १७।

१२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ ४३ ।

१३. पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री' सेतीका तारा, पृष्ठ २४६ ।

१४. मोहन प्रसाद खनाल, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ १२ ।

१५. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकवहादुर श्रेष्ठ, नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ ४२-४३ ।

१६. देवकान्त पन्त, होटेली लोक साहित्य एक अध्ययन, पृष्ठ ८६ ।

१७. मसंग भएको वंशावलीको नाम यस प्रकार छ:-

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| ९४. विमादेउ | ९५. त्रिलोकीपालराजा | ९६. निरयपाल राजा |
| ९७. अशोकमल्ल राजा | ९८. अर्जुनमल्ल राजा | ९९. नागमल्ल राजा |
| १००. रिपुमल्ल राजा | १०१. | १०२. कल्याणमल्ल राजा |
| १०३. शनिसरिमल्ल राजा | १०४. प्रतापीमल्ल राजा | १०५. कटारीमल्ल राजा |

१८. वफांगमा प्रचलित ह्नीसीकर निम्नानुसार थिए ।
 १. गोदामकर: जमिनको कर वर्षेनी ११- रूपैयाँ,
राजाको गोदाममा एकपाथी धान प्रत्येक वतनले बुफाउनु पर्दथ्यो ।
 २. घट्टेकर: अन्नपिस्ने पानी घट्टे राख्नेले वर्षेनी रु.२१- ६ महीना राख्नेले रु.११- नगद बुफाउन नसके जिन्सी बुफाउनु पर्ने ।
 ३. सिक घान्नी: कार्तिक महीनामा वाली मित्र्याउंदा रैतीले सिक कर बुफाउनु पर्थ्यो । र रबिवाली मित्र्याएपछि गहुँ जाँ आदि बुफाउनु पर्ने करलाई घान्नीकर मनिन्थ्यो ।
 ४. वेसाउरी: प्रत्येक सालको दशैमा राजाले रैतीवाट सस्तो मूल्यमा चिजहरू (अन्न, साग, घीउ, मासु ई.) किन्ने गर्दथे । यो किन्दा सस्तो मूल्यमा दिनुपर्थ्यो । यसलाई त्यहाँ वेसाउरी मनिन्थ्यो ।
 ५. चन्द्रायण: यसको खास अर्थ पतिया हो । पतिया लिनलाई धर्माधिकारीहरू दौत्रदौत्रमा सटाइएका हुन्थे । आफ्ना गोत्रिया, छिमेकी र इष्टमित्रले पातक जस्ता घृणित कसूर र जातपातमा नरहेमा, सबैले पतिया लिई शुद्ध भई जातमा रहन सक्थे । चन्द्रायणमा प्रत्येकले २१५० पैसा तिर्नु पर्दथ्यो । यसको केही हिस्सा धर्माधिकारीले राखी बाँकी राजालाई पठाउने गर्दथे । ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री, वैश्य र मतवाली क्षत्रीका धर्माधिकारी ब्राह्मण र पानी नचले जातका मानिसलाई चन्द्रायण दिँदा सुनारलाई सो जिम्मा दिइन्थ्यो । धर्माधिकारीले हिन्दू रीति अनुसार पतिया दिने गर्दथे ।
 ६. चाकचकुह: आफ्ना घरमा पालिराखेकी नोकर्नी मागेर पोह्ल गर्दै भने त्यस्तोमा अर्को लैजाने मानिसवाट चाक कर लिइन्थ्यो । र राजालाई केही माग लगाई मा लिकले केही माग लिन्थे । आफ्नो नातापर्ने विधवा महिला पोह्ल गर्दै भने त्यस्तो वदमासी गर्नेलाई चकुह कर लगाउने चलन थियो । हाड नाता परेमा कहिले काहीँ राजालाई थाहा नदिई चकुह लिई थामथुम परिन्थ्यो र थाहा हुने जस्तो भएमा दुवैलाइ मगाइन्थ्यो ।
 ७. वाजपारेको: वाजले पँडालाई समातेर ल्याउन सक्छ । यसलाई राप्ररी तालिम दिएपछि समुद्रमित्र पसी सिपीखाने चरा छोपी ल्याउने काम गर्दथ्यो भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्थ्यो । सिपीमा मोती हुन्छ । वफांगवाट यस्ता वाज छोपी भारतमा लगी बेचिन्थ्यो । सनद नपाउने वालाले वाज छोप्न पाइदैनथे । राजालाई सनदवालाको वाजपक्रेपछि बुफाउथे । त्यस कामगरेवापत उनीहरूले राजावाट केही नगद प्राप्त गर्दथे ।
 ८. वेठ, वेगार: वेठ तिर्दा राजाको जमीनमा महीनाको दुइ दिन काम गर्नु पर्ने वेगारमा राजा बाहिर जाँदा र देशमित्र आउँदा रैतीले निशुल्क भारी वोक्नु पर्ने पाल्की र ढोला वोक्नु पर्ने चलन थियो ।

६. दुवा, ठेकी, कुराउनी, ओलकः प्रत्येक वर्षा भाद्र महीनाको शुक्ल सम्पत्ती-
तिथिमा रैतिले राजाकहाँ खूवा र दही लानुपर्ने; भैसी नपालेले
घिउ दिनुपर्ने; श्रावण १ गतेका दिन संक्रान्तिमा महीको ठेकी
राजाकहाँ पु-याउनु पर्ने र रैतिको घर दरवार देखि टाढा भएमा
गाउँका ठालूकहाँ लैजानु पर्ने ।
१०. पेचखानीः कुनै कारणावधि दुइ गाउँका बीच फगडा पर्न गयो भने राजावाट
पुर्जि टाँस्न पुलिसहरू आउंथे । उनीहरूलाई खुराक र जाने वेलामा
रु. १५० पैसा दिनु पर्दथ्यो ।
११. नूनको करः उनको कर ।
१२. माहुरीको महकरः
१३. वाझा, गोरू करः (गोरू भन्नाले - गाई गोरू, भैसी, रांगा, वहर, वाच्छा
पाडा ई.)
१४. डंड, कुंडः फगडियाले मुदा हारेमा लाग्ने जरिवानालाई डंड र नयाँ तीर्थ-
स्थल वा घाट, फुल तर्नु पर्दा, तुह्रन (लटाको फुल) तर्नु पर्दा,
तान्ने मानिसहरूलाई दिने जगातलाई कुण्ड भनिन्थ्यो । कुंड भन्नाले
कुवाको कर अथवा पनेराको कर पनि हुन आउँथ्यो तर वफागमा
त्यस्तो कर लगाएको प्रमाण नहुँदा यहाँ कुंडको अर्थ घाट, खोला,
सहरो तार्ने मानिस, घटालोलाई बुझाउने मूल्य भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।
घटालोले घाट तारे वापत पनि राजालाई केही रकम दिनु पर्थ्यो ।
प्राय यो वार्षिक ठेकामा पनि दिने गरिन्थ्यो जुन पाले पालो
हुन्थ्यो ।
१५. अपुतालीः
१६. मुडाली, पेटालीः मुडाली भनेको पानी खेतीको कर हो र पेटाली भनेको अर्थ,
रविवाली गरिने जमीनको तिर्रो भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।
१७. धुरीकर अस्मानीः तागाधारी (जने लगाउने) जातले राजालाई वर्षेनी १-२
पैसा कर तिर्नु पर्दथ्यो । जसलाई तागाधारन गदा राजाकन
बुझाउन्थे दस्तुरा भनिन्थ्यो । धुरीकर भन्नाले आफू वसेको
घरको कर हुन्थ्यो ।
१८. लिक्तन, घततनः खानीवाट खनिज निकालेर वनेका भाँडा, त्यस्ता भाँडा
वनाउने तमाटा माथि लाग्ने करलाई लिक्तनकर भनिन्थ्यो ।
फलामको पाता तवाई आरन (ज्यासल) मा पिटने मानिसले
बुझाउने करलाई घनतनकर भनिन्थ्यो । साथै हुंगा काट्ने मानिस-
ले तिर्ने करलाई ओडकर पनि भनिने चलन थियो ।
१९. खानीकरः (वफागमा रजौटाहरूको समयमा विभिन्न ठाउँवाट खनिजहरू
फिकी त्यहाँका मानिसले स्थानीय भाँडा वर्तन वनाएका अफ
पनि देख्न पाइन्थे । खानी फिक्दा ठेकामा र कर लिने
गरी दिइन्थ्यो) ।

२०. सुनार करः मूलकर (झालाको काम गर्ने माकी)
ढोले करः (वाजा बजाउने दमाई)
भाडेकर (वादीहरूले नाचेर कमाउँदा केही कर राजालाई पनि बुझाउनु
पर्दथ्यो, जसलाई भाँड मनिन्छ)
२१. पोताः वक्स पोता, वीता पोता इत्यादि ।
२२. फागू करः प्रत्येक फागूपूर्णिमामा राजालाई सारा रैतिले मीठा मीठा
अन्न, पक्वान्न, काँचा पाकेका फलफूल, जे जस्तो आफूना
गच्छेले पुग्दथ्यो । त्यही कुरा राजाकहाँ पु-याई दिनु पर्दथ्यो ।
(मोटामोटी ३६ कर यिनै हुन्, जो वफागमा प्रचलित थिए)
१६. मोहन प्रसाद खनाल, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ १२ ।
२०. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ ८३-८४ ।
२१. योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्रकाश भाग १, पृष्ठ
२२. डा. तुलसीराम वैद्य, 'भ्वायस अफ् हिष्ट्रि खण्ड ३' जाजरकोटको राजा हरिशाह,
पृष्ठ १ ।
२३. सत्यमोहन जोशी, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ १०१ ।
२४. प्रा. तौत्रराज पाण्डेय, नयराज पन्त, नेपालको संक्षिप्त इतिहास, पृष्ठ १०६ ।
२५. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ १४३ ।
२६. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववर्णित, पृष्ठ ५८८ ।

ताम्रपत्रहरूको मूल पाठ नं १

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यो ताम्रपत्र शाके १२६४ को हो । यसको सकल सेती अञ्चल वफांग जिला रिठा-पाटा शिलाखेतका निवासी नरदेव कोइरालाका धरमा छ । यसको नापो १५' इन्च लम्बाई र ७ इन्च चौडाइ छ । दाहिने तर्फ केही वदूता चौसो निकाली फुण्ड्याउन सजिलोको लागि होरी अङ्काउने प्वाल बनाइएको छ । पुरानो देवनागरी लिपिमा यो ताम्रपत्र कुदिएको छ । यसको दायाँ अन्त्य छेउमा केही चर्केको मरपनि यसले अक्षरलाई कुनै असर पारेको छैन । यस ताम्रपत्रको अन्त्यमा दायाँ तर्फ ठूलो 'ह्रा' अक्षर जस्तो छाप छ । यसको मूलपाठ यस्तो छः

१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ शाके द्वादशशते नवतिवेदसम्मिते माणफाल्गुनश्चैव तृतीयाया जीव वासरे श्री राजा ।
२. धिराज परमेश्वर । परमस्तहार परममाहेश्वर । परमगुरु श्रीमन्महेश्वर बालराज श्री कुम्कर्ण ।
३. वंशोद्धमव श्री राजाधिराज हरिव्रम्भ कुवर जयंत वर्मणः पादासुचिरंजयतु ॥ नानुलाया-यामाफिला ।
४. रजवार माणपसामह विसिंधु जोहसि यं माण पाइकोइयारी थामका आलां कि संख्या विसु ।
५. वेलका ४ णुकि संख्या राजपल्टा सुनतोला ४ छटाको टिकी माण माण पसाकिह ।
६. विसिंध जोहसियं पाइ अत्र सादिता थान ४ राजवम्भ गोसाईं सुमेरु गोसाईं कालु गोसा ।
७. ईं सहु माट विष्ट शिखम्भ ठाकुर । सन्कु कुवर । दाणु कुवर । स्वदन्तं परदन्तं वा ॥ यो हर ।
८. ति वसुन्धरा ॥ णष्टिवर्णं सहस्राणि विष्टायाम् जायते कृमिं ॥ भूमिदा भूमिहतां च नापरंपापपुण्ययोः ।
९. कृ (श्र)द्धा धेम्मोत्थतिष्ठेता यावदामूत संप्लवा ॥ प्रलये भिन्न मयांदा भवन्ति किल सागरा ॥ सागरा
१०. मेद मिच्छन्ति प्रलये नापि साधव । मेरुश्चलति कल्पान्ते मयांदाम् सागरो गतिःप्रति ।
११. पन्नं महासत्यान्न विकलन्ति कदाचनः । लेणकः सहयाजोहसि छटाकोटी सिगाज ।
१२. विष्ट वास्तु ठाकुर । सरंभ ठाकुर । रूपुकुवर । अपुर्ध ठाकुर । डोह ठाकुर आकासको ढिडो ।
१३. पातालकि निध सर्वदोण विशुद्ध सर्वकर अकरि इति शुभम्

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यो ताम्रपत्र वफांग, चैनपुर गा.पं. वार्ड नं.३ दंडरूका नरदेव जोशीको घरमा छ । यसको लम्बाई १६ इन्च र चौडाई ११ इन्च छ । यो ताम्रपत्र पुरानो भएकोले हेउका अक्षरहरू र केही बीचका अक्षरहरू पनि अस्पष्ट हुन गएका छन् । यो प्राचीन देवनागरी लिपिमा कुदिएको छ । त्यस्तै अन्त्यको वायां मागमा 'उधार शाक १३१३ जसब्रतसुमम्' मनी मनिएको छ । अमय मल्ल मन्ने अक्षरहरूको दायां तिर चक्र र वायां तिर शंखको आकृति कुदिएको छाप छ । प्रथमतः यो ताम्रपत्र अमयमल्लले १२६६ वैशाखमा दान दिएको मन्ने जस्तो बुझिन्छ, तर फेरि १३१३ मा वफांगी राजा जसब्रत (जसैवम्म) ले कुदन लगाई थप्ती गरेको मन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसको मतलब ज्यादा स्पष्ट हैन तापनि यसको पाठ भने सजिलो संग चल्न सक्छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा जैमल्ल, जैतवल, सिरवम्म सुजान वल आदिको नाउँ उल्लेख छ/जसले शुक्रा वफांगी राजाहरूको वंशलाई क्रोड्याउन अलि मदत गर्दछ ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ राय असुरनारायणारायबालगोपाल रिपुराय दोण्डुमल्ला ।
२. श्री अमयमल्लदेवपादाः सपरिवाराः सकुमाराः सर्वत्र विजयिनो भवन्तु ।
३. श्री शाके १२६६ वैशाख दिन सोमवासरे राइको आदेश ॥
४. अधिकारी कार्की बुढाथापा रोकाया समप्रति कुमालतहो आलो ॥
५. सुनिकाटियां माटगावका सुनिका चौथाग दंदुरु न-या वानियाको
६. हुंदो । सुणा णोलाको उब्जन णटपडापढोम हुन्या उमो एकर चौथागा ।
७. शिहुडा दानिधर चिद्धियात् वाग्वोडार वोडोवाट उमो पाछिल तोला ।
८. उमो वरागागडो पृति एकत्र समे आलो सूर्यग्रहण संकल्प घाली सिरु ।
९. जोइसि पसाकी अक्र्यां छु । डंड दोण मोठ अपुताली कुत् मात् ।
१०. पोद्लो पिठायो जारी चोरी फाप्या गुप्या जिउ कुडियो मुडाली । पे
११. टाली । आकासको ढिडो पातालकी निध सर्वकर सर्वदोण विसुद ।
१२. करि जैमल्लको चेलीको चेलो आदी पसाकरि सिरु जोइसिको चे
१३. लिको चेलो आदि गैर णडा जैमल्ल पसाकी हातैताण जैतवल सिर वल ।
१४. सुजानवला तलकोटी सुनुल वम्म तैजाण जयाकर उपाध्या दिनाउहो ।
१५. इनुकि साणा दे । जयाणर उपाध्याकी साणा मुच अत्र सादिाणः रत्न त्रयाया सु ।
१६. यो चन्द्रमसो । बुद्ध वौद्ध । मुमण्डलका सादिा जाडो राउल रामणडगाहा ।
१७. तिपुरु माट डाडे कुवर हरिवम्मो राउल लेणक विधकर जोयो धर्म प्रतिपाल

६२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

१८. सो पुरा पाइया जोयह वृत्ति षचपचकर सो महापातक पाइया । मेरू ।
१९. श्चलति कल्यान्ते मयादिं सागरो गति । प्रतिपन्नं महासत्यं विकलन्ति क
२०. दाचन ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा यो हरेच्च वसुधराम् षाष्टिवर्षं सहस्राणि विष्टायांजा
२१. यते कृमिः ॥ शत्रुणापि कृतधर्मं पालनीयं प्रयत्नतः शत्रुर्वही शत्रुस्यात् धर्म
२२. शत्रुर्नकस्यचित् ॥

उधार शाके १३१३

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यो ताम्रपत्रामिलेस सेती अञ्चल वफांग जिल्ला मातेखोला गा.पं. वार्ड नं.५ का मदनराज जोशीको घरमा छ । उहाँसँग जम्मा ३ वटा ताम्रपत्रहरू छन् । पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री' ले ५ वटा मात्र छन् भनी लेख्नु भएको छ । तर हाल अरू २ वटा उहाँसित छैनन् । यसको कारण, मैले बुझिन । आशय भएका भए मलाई उहाँले देखाउनु हुन्थ्यो होला भन्ने विश्वास लाग्छ । हुन सक्छ उहाँले विक्री पनि गर्नुभयो होला जुन मलाई भन्नु भएन । यो ताम्रपत्र उहाँसँग भएका ताम्रपत्रमध्ये सबभन्दा पुरानो हो । यसको लम्बाई १३ इन्च र चौडाई ७ १/२ इन्च छ । ताम्रपत्र पुरानो हुँदा र केटाकेटीलाई खेलाउन दिइएकाले अक्षरहरू केही घस्सिएका छन् । यो पुरानो देवनागरी लिपिमा कुदिएको छ । यसको पाठलाई सर-सरती मात्र पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल यात्रीले सेतीका तारा पृष्ठ २४६ मा दिनु भएको छ । तर त्यहाँ प्राप्तस्थान, पंक्ति संख्या र क्रम तथा व्याख्या भने गरिएको छैन ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ अविक्लमुवनभरोद्धहन धैर्यप्राचुर्यकीर्ति
२. कदम्बेनेवाशेषकवलितक्लेवरश्य ---- निहारगौरस्यानन्तस्येवापरंवपुरुद्धहतस्तुहिनगिरेर्नि-
तम्बे वर्तमानाम -
३. गलितदुकूल शंकाविमोद्धहन्त्या श्वेतसरिता समलंकृत परिसर प्रदेशा श्रीं सेगुड
४. रिमधिवसन्नतुल भुजवल विजितरिपुवलका मिनीजननयननिर्गतवारिपुरसुदुर
५. समुत्सरितमत्सरिदितातिपतिप्रतापानलः प्रचण्डभुजदण्डकुण्ड ललितकोदंड खंडनि
६. गच्छच्छरनिकरप्रवाहजर्जरकृता रिमूधराव्युरसंहरण वालगोपालः काम्बोजवारा युजवा
७. ह्लीकपारसिकाधुक्तावर्त्तनसंधसाहर समुद्रः श्वलसामन्त मण्डलिमो लिमण्डितवरणसरोजः
८. सपरिवार श्रीमान्नभयमल्लश्चिरंजयतु ॥ श्री शाके १२६६ फाल्गुण वदि ११ सोमे
राइको आदेश ।

६. दुंग्राका अधिकारी कारकिर्ति । आ १ मात्यणालाको । आ० ॥ सेती वाक्याको
आ० ॥ दुग्री
१०. को लाम्पाटा उभो मुएकत्र आ०२ तामापत्र सासनकि पुहुजोइसि । तिलुजोइसि । सिकैठ
११. जोइसि पसाकि अक्र्याहु सर्वकर अकर सर्वदोष विसुद्धा फाप्यागुप्या कहित्या मोड अ-
१२. पुताली मुडाली पेटाली समै हाडी अक्र्याहु । कोहित्यै नपाव । यो माणा ।
१३. अमयमल्लकि साणा पसाकि अक्रया पुहुजोइसि । तिलुजोइसि सिकैठ जो -
१४. इसि कि साणा चेलिको चेलो आदि मुच । अत्रसादिण सुयवन्द्रमसौ रत्न ।
१५. त्रया भुमण्डलका सादि । जेतुवम्म राउला सिरिवम्म राउला राजवम्म राउला ।
१६. सुमेवम्म राउला थेवुराउल । गोह्याल राउल लेणक धर्मदाश जोइसि ।
१७. सिरराज णडका अत्र सादि

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यो ताम्रपत्र वफांग रिठापाटा गा.प. शिलासेतका नरदेव कोइरालाका घरमा छ ।
निजसंग दुइवटा ताम्रपत्रहरू छन्, जसमा यो दोश्रो हो । यो ताम्रपत्रको आकार केही सानो र
पातलो छ । पाठमा त्यति शुद्धता आउन अक्षर अस्पष्ट हुनाले केही गाह्रो पनि पर्न गयो ।
यसको लम्बाई ११ इन्च र चौडाई ७ इन्च छ । यसको बायाँतर्फ बीचमा चोसो निकाली
प्वाल बनाइएको छ । पुरानो देवनागरी लिपिमा यो कुदिएको छ र यसमा कुनै छाप छैन ।
शाके १३१२ को यो ताम्रपत्र हो जसको पाठ यहाँ उद्धृत छ ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्री शाके १३१२ फाल्गुण मासे शुक्ल पक्षे षाष्टाम्यां तिथौ कार्तिका
नक्षत्रे शनि दिने ।
२. श्री राजाधिराजा उदयसिंह विरंजयतु ॥ रजवार दत्तपसाकीइ राउदु मंडारी दत्त पाइ
उफली
३. धुराली पसाकियो । सर्वकर अकर । सर्वदोष विसुद्ध । नाठरधालि पुताली अपुताली
मुडाली पे

६४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

४. टाली चोरीजारी । आकासको ढिडो पातालकि निध । डडाकोटी सन्ज्यालकि माण
माण गाइ णोज कु
५. टिधां उपलि धुराली लागो पातो । ह्लिपानी धुलसा धुलि अं अखाय पानि अपिउ
सर्वकर
६. अकर उदैसिको चेलिको चेलो खा । अत्रसादि । राज वम्म गोसान्नि सुमहगोसान्नि ।
भुसु गोसान्नि ।
७. ग्यानजु । मटवाजु रेबुमाट णिदुमाट मोति अचारं नरिवम्म ठाकुर दानु कुवर सारग
ठाकुर ।
८. हरु जोइसि जघासहस्र वाइविस आठविस पंचसहयोदु अदिकायदिग्रात्रि । स्वदतां पर-
दतां वा यो ।
९. हरेच्च वसुंधराम् । णष्टिवर्णं सहस्राणि विष्टायाम् जायेत कृमि ॥ उदैसिधकि जोदत
माणघाल सो गी
१०. हत्या ब्रह्महत्या पाइह्या । लिणितं देउराज जोइसि ॥ इति ।
११. धमासेठीकंदा । रे ।

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यो ताम्रपत्र वफांग जिल्ला व्यांशी गा.पं. थली नौविस पुजाराको घरमा छ ।
देवनागरी लिपिमा कुदिएको यो अभिलेख शाके १३३६ को हो । अरु ताम्रपत्रहरूको तुलनामा
यो ठूलो छ । यसको लम्बाई १८ इन्च र चौडाई १२ इन्च छ । अक्षरहरू स्पष्ट छन् । यसको
अन्त्य दायां तर्फ चौकुने पारी दायां शंख र बायां तर्फ खड्गको चिन्ह छ । दुवैको बीचमा
रिपुमल्ल मनी राम्ररी कुदिएको छ ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ दाराजपरिमुनितासिल महिसी जाग्रोचिधिःकि ।
२. तिस्तोमसिताह्वनीतिनतनुः सवयणाइस्वसदा । सलक्ष्मी सुति नागरं हिततनुर्योनिंतलदा ।
३. कृतिहृवादहृदयदर्शनाश्रुतिसहसा आशक्तिवर्तानुपः ॥
४. मटारक । परमवै क्लव । परमदानी । कायद्वकायायन्नतानां अंधकार नाघल ज्योति ।
५. लोभी (जी ?) नायमायेमलां () कुसाचतुर्दिशानाम् यज्ञम्म अदेत्यादिविरदावलि-
विराजमान श्री ॥
६. शक्तिब्रह्म नरेन्द्रेण दत्तजीवलकमुदाकर सर्वविनिर्मुक्त आदलायगणीहीदे । श्री शाके १३३६ ।
७. पौषसुदि १ प्र.बुधदिने रिसाकर पर्वणी । शक्तिब्रह्म राजलो आदेश ॥ कपिलिकाकि
अधिकारी ।

८. बुढाथापा रोक्याया ॥ बुढीजेसी ॥ प्रति जालो १ किड्डु दुमकोट यकत्रघालि ।
९. चन्द्रग्रहण तीलकुशसहित संकल्प घालि चन्द्रावकैरथ ॥ इ ॥ सर्वकर अकर । स
१०. वबाधा विनिर्मुक्तः । चतुःसीमापर्यन्त विसुधदोहाली सारा तामापत्रकरि । साल्ल जोइसि ।
११. पसाकी अक्रयांकु । यस तामापत्र जितकीवृत्तिकनिमित्तं सेवधारा । दंड । कुंडमोड । अपुताली ।
१२. मुडाली पुटाली चोरि जारि फप्यागुप्या कउल्यापाणो करकुत । लिउकुडियो वेठो वाजलो पिठायो ।
१३. पोटलो । थापामाथि आदिकरि । आकासको ढिडो पातालकिनिध हत्तिसैकर हांडि घा ।
१४. लगकु । (स.दि.ण.नि.उग्री ?) । यस तामापत्र दि नकिहत्ते जो घाल फलापायान कोह्हीलायल ।
१५. स्ववाधलनाकि सति बोलकर करा वा तस्कारकैसै पुत्र वा केहीजीनयहन् सुर ।
१६. ब्राह्मणतारका सनि शाणाकादि णानतो यसेमेरू धमसारानलिन जुकरणे पुराण्याइय ।
१७. याहापहिका राजा पान्नहोइ यसप्रमाण सैरकिप्रति पालनाकरि यस तामापत्रकि भाण ॥
१८. श्रीशक्तिब्रह्मकि साखाय साकरा साल्ल जोइसि कीण पणपुत नाति भाइमतिजा वे
१९. लिको चेलो आदिकरि भुंन ॥ अत्रसादि ॥ सुर्यचन्द्रागौ भुमंडलका सादगी हिरवम्म राउल ।
२०. मौय्या राउल सुरबम्म भाट । हामिरुकुवर । मुसुकुवर । आगेल थापा शिउरोकाय, दुर्गाकुठाइत ।
२१. आयुषाडगाहा नाहुवड देउवम्मवड (ओइ) । स्वदतां परदतां वा योहरेच्च वसुधरां षाष्टिवर्णसहस्राणी ।
२२. ध्येयं पत्तिपत्रसमलमनसानविकलित प्रगताप ॥ ममवंश यदादाये नकोत्रपातयेत् ।
२३. तस्मृतिपादलग्नाद्ममाउष्णा नलायेत्पापिलिंशत सादि कृष्णाकर देवहेन । शुभम-स्तु ।
२४. कडानित्तनामविपुस्ववणात्रागावै सुरिमानमधन ।
२५. कपाटसुरि मुडुली डाडा ।

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६६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. २ (जुन १९७६)

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यो ताम्रपत्र मैले सक्कलवाट सार्न नपाएकोले पंक्तिको क्रम र ताम्रपत्रको नापो लेख्न असमर्थ हुँ । यसको मूल वफांग जिल्लाका मू.पू.रा.पं.स. स्व. चन्द्र जङ्गवहादुर सिंहको सक्कलमा थियो । चन्द्रजङ्गको मृत्यु पश्चात् योगीनरहरिनाथले यो ताम्रपत्र र अन्य सामाग्रीहरूका सक्कल प्रतिनै आफ्नो साथ लिएर हिडेकुन् । चन्द्रजङ्गले लेखेको वफांगको इतिहासको पाण्डुलिपि पनि योगीसँगै पुगेछ । यो सवैकुरा मैले वफांग चैनपुरका गगनजङ्गवहादुर सिंहवाट सुनेको हुँ, जसले मलाई नकल दिए ।

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स्वस्ति श्री महेश्वरस्य सुरसिंघारि प्रत्यातुः प्रभुता विराजमान सपादलदिणाय आर्यविपदाधिस्वर समीक्षो राजधान्याः श्रीमत्यां वफांगइहनगर्याम् श्री शक्तिब्रह्मराये । राजधिराज प्रभुणां परमधर्म परममाहेस्वरीका धैर्यकाराय भक्ति अंधकाराय जगज्योतिलभिमहे गजाकुशाराये रमणी षसग्रामा श्रीभविकारायमन्तां श्रीशक्तिब्रह्मविजयिनोवभुव सिरोमणि दानासीकृतदालिङ्ग वैरिदानो महितोलोः शाके १३६८ ज्येष्ठमास अमावस्यायां तिथौः मौमवासरे शक्तिब्रह्मराउलो आदेश वडिह टाटेगढो जुजीका रायलका अधिकारीकाकिं बुढाथापा रोकाया देउली समैप्रति जुजी पाणाको आलो १ कुलोउयो णोलावढो चौथाइ सेकुणोलाको चाँडपाउदाको हूपेरिउताको गढोपारी जेजीको तिनरी उताकाटियो भुवाको अधाला ३ मकरावलिका आदेस १ सेलागाउको अँडोस १ लिस्तडाको घरतलीको घालीसमै एकत्रः घालि आला ३ तिलकुशसहित संकल्प घालिः सर्वकुरअकर सर्वदोषा विसुद्ध सर्ववाधा विनिरमुक्तन्तुसिंभूय सन्तति शुद्धदेहिदोहली-शासनः तामापत्रकरि अजुजोइसि फसु जोइसि देवदास जोइसी पसाकी अक्र्याकुः येस्तामापत्रकी विधिकरिमात्र सेवाफाराडँडकुड मडअपुतालि पेटाली चोरिजाहि ज्यापैतो पाणोकर कुत् जिकुडियाँ वेठोवाउलो पिठायो पोतलो आकासको ढिडो पातालकि निध सामापाति कुत्तिसैकर अकर दशदोषा समै ह्वाडि अक्र्याकु कोहि लैजान नपावस तामापत्रदेणि तकि धाति जो-हाल घाल घलावा फलानाकि कैसविंति वोलकरका वात सैकियेकैः अपुत्रीहत्यो नगंपरास जो येस धर्म राणास उन्किप्रतिपालनाः गरास सोपराहे पावस जा नगर सो पन्चमहापातक लागीस येस तामापत्रकि भाषा श्रीशक्तिब्रह्मकि साकाप्रसाकरिः अजुजोइसि फसुजोइसि देवदास जोइसिको भाइ भतिजो चेलिको चेलो आदि भुचः जुजियेघर आलामाफघालि सकियेकुः अत्रसादिणः सुर्जचन्द्र कालुजोइसि कित्थुमाट धेनुथापा रुदुपयेर मक्त जोइसि लिणितम् शक्तुजोइसि

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यो ताम्रपत्र पनि वफांग भातेखोलाका मदनराज जोशीको घरमा छ । यो आकारमा केहीसानो र अक्षर अलि अस्पष्ट हुँदा कहिँ कहिँ पंक्ति खाली पर्न गसका छन्, जसको लागि पाठक समझा कामा चाहन्छु । यसको लम्बाई १० इन्च र चौडाई ७ इन्च छ । केही गह्रौ र चाक्लो यसको ताल छ । अक्षर खिरिला र पातला छन् ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री शाके १४२० वैशाखमाघ कृष्णपक्षा त्रय...
२. ... धौ गुरुवासरे श्रीराजाधिराज भावसिंह
३. ... ज्वार चिरंजयतु रज्वार पायल भुमिपसामहसंक्ल
४. प गरि तिलकुशसहित जसुजोइसिले पाइ भुमि
५. कपरि निग्रहा आला जाडमात्रको गद्यालो सगतिसिंग रजतोजगा दिनु
६. माचकोटको चरु थाकराठागावको चरु थाकुरवाघरको हुँदा चरु थाक
७. रज्वारको दिनु सगतिसिंग सुजानसिंगकिमाणा भावसिंग रज्वारले
८. मयाचितयो जसजोइसिले पाइ सर्वकर अकर सर्वदोष
९. शुद्ध अत्र साक्षा पोयातोलकि निधनीच्छ अपुताली नाठ पैठ कप्या गुप्या... ..
१०. ॐ कोहि दिनु

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यो ताम्रपत्र वफांग भातेखोलाका मदनराज जोशी कहाँ छ । यसका अक्षरहरू स्पष्ट हैन् । यो शाके १३४० (वि.सं. १४७५) को अभिलेख हो । यसको अन्त दायाँ तर्फ को आकारको छाप छ । यो १० इन्च लामो र ६ इन्च चाक्लो छ । आकार पनि सानो अक्षर पनि साना हुनाले पढन कठिन पर्दछ ।

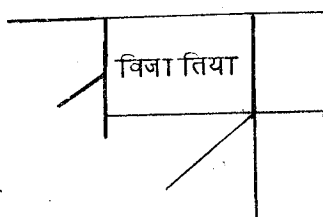
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१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री शाके १३४० संवत्सर १४७५ चैत्र माघ शुक्लपक्ष त्रयोदस्या तिथौ रवि-
वासरे
२. सिरवम्म राउलो मल्लवम्म राउलो संग्रवम्म राउलो वचसुनीका
३. अधिकारि कार्कि बुढाथापा पयाणहमह (?) ताराकेगा
४. रनाडे बुढा समैप्रति सुरेको नाति सिरवम्मका मल्ल वम्मका संग्रवम्मका पावगारेवाक
५. पाववाइका पोटला सङ्गजोइसिका गोत्रइ सो जवार सिजा सुद्धको नातिपनाति र शुवम्मको

६८ सि एन ए एस जर्नेल, मोलम ६, नं.२ (जुन १९७६)

६. पुरायाजोहो सोकर महापाताक पाइ अत्रसादिा त्रयसये
७. भुलोकका सादिा जाडुरावल गतवाणडकागाह सिरुजोइसि
८. लेणकसादिा रासजोइसि स्वदसं परदसंवा यो हरंति वसुधरा
९. षाष्टिवर्षसिंहश्राणि विष्टायाम् जायते कृमि मेरुचलति कल्पान्तं मयादा
१०. सागरोगति प्रतिरक्षाहदोरत्न विचलन्ता कदाचन शुभमस्तु
११. वेजातिया ब्राह्मणको पनदो धनवनाहा

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यो ताम्रपत्रलाई मैले सास ताम्रपत्रको रूपमा सारेको होइन । हरिताल घसेको कागज भरखरि बनाइएको मसीले पुरानै ढाँचामा लेखिएको कागज छ; जसबाट मैले यो सारें । यो हाल बफाँग तल्कोटका जंगवहादुर सिंहसँग छ । मैले यसको सकल बारे सोधें, तहाँले केनमात्र भन्नु- मयो । हुन सक्छ यो हस्तान्तरण मइसकेको छ । यो शाके १६२३ को ताम्रपत्र हो । यो ताम्र-पत्र वाचापत्र जस्तो बुझिन्छ ।

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१. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्री शाके १६२३ जेष्ठमाघे २ भृगुवासरे स्वाति नक्षत्रे १५ त्रयोदस्याम् ति
२. धौ १३ श्री राजाधिराज भोपतिसिंहपादा चिरंजयतुः माधुसिंहपादा चिरंजयतुः भोपतिसिंह
३. रज्वारले माधुसिंह गोसायि जिउले मयाचितयो सिगातु धराला विक्रम धरालाले देउमेटी
४. मड अपुताली भेटी पायो ॥ सर्वकरअर्कार गरिपायो छः ठाकुरल मयाचितयो छः यै वाचा
५. भित्रा धनदेलो भगत नैन घात्याकी घात सुनैन घात्याकि घात सुन्या राजाको धर्मवादी
६. जालाः विक्रम धरालाका नातिपुतले ठाकुर छोडैन॥ मेदिनीसिंहका नातिपुतले धर्मराण
७. नुः नानादोष नअणु ठुलादोष नमानुं राइसासनि मुत्यछोटो मयाका दिन ठाकुरका नाति
८. पुतले पालिषानुः यसो सागभाग छ अत्र साचि सूर्यचन्द्र साचिः पौनपानि भुमडलका सा
९. चिः छिटपुरनसिंहः जतुथापाः मानिकु जोइसि वेत् कालि साचिः गणतउला समद्रजोइसि साचिः
१०. संग्रामथापाः सगुसिंह साचिः लिणितसाचि अपरि वाडेलः उषोडो घ्वाइय सुनार साचि॥
११. स्वदसं परदसंवा जे नहांति वसुधराः षाष्टिवर्षसिंहश्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमि ॥ सत्यराम ॥
१२. राम ॥ ॥ राम ॥ ॥ शुभम् ॥ ॥

नं. १०

यो ताम्रपत्रको नकल मैले वफांग चैनपुरका निवासी हाल सत्यवादी मा.वि.का प्र.अ. गगनजङ्ग वहादुर सिंहवाट पाएको हुं । यसको सकल मौलाली वफांगवाट स्व० चन्द्रजंगले चैनपुरमा ल्याएका थिए। तर पछि निजको निधन भएकोले यो पनि योगीज्यूकै हात प-यो भनी प्र.अ. ले भने । योगीज्यूले फेलापरेका अधिकांश सामग्रीहरू लगेछन् । तर नकलमा होसियारी-पूर्वक सारिएको मैले पाएकोले यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरेको छु ।

पाठ

१. ॐ स्वस्ति ।। श्री शाके १६६१ श्रीसंवत् १८२६
२. कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षोपचमस्यांतिथौ शुक्रवास्यरे
३. पूर्वषाढा नक्षत्रे श्रीराजाधीराज मरवन्जवयर
४. धार्मिकदेव द्विजगुरु भक्तक समुद्रसिंह
५. पादा चिरंजयतु गोसायिजिउ रघुनाथपादा... सिंहपादा
६. चिरंजयतु मगल्याको आलो माथि षोतको
७. ह्मटो दशनालिषोत ठाकुरले मयाचितयो
८. भौमल बुढाथापा काजिले माजिले भयेपात नालि
९. सितौ पाचमाना नत्वाकि अत्रसाचि
१०. चन्द्रसुर्जे भुमंडलका साचि गर्वु जाइसि
११. साचि यांलादेव जोगि कडाइत साचि रा
१२. उल्या भंडारि साचि प्रमन्या थापो साचि ...
१३. मे थापो साचि दुपदेव पंडित साचि... .. कुला
१४. धाइ साचि हित्या सउला वि... टा... ज
१५. उपाध्या जिउबुढोथापो सवल फोड... दे
१६. णाननाइमल जोइसि साचि उषो दोषा जित्या
१७. नुत्स्या साचि लिखित विजित्रसिंह साचि सुभम्.

नं. ११

यो ताम्रपत्र जस्तो व्यहोरा भएको कागजको नकल मैले वफांग चैनपुरमा पाएको हुं । यसको सकल सानै व्यक्तिवाट यो सारिएको हो र हाल यसको सकलको केही खवर छैन । मलाई यो नकल दिने उदारता प्र.अ. गगनजंगवहादुर सिंहले देखाएका हुन् । यो शाके १४८४ को हो, यसको व्यहोरावाट यसलाई ताम्रपत्र भन्न सकिन्छ ।

पाठ

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री शाके १४८४ ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्षे पञ्चम्यां तिथौ शनिवासरे ॥
२. भिटाकासपाउमो वगुवासमेत सिमेल णडका परिवार समेले मयाचितयो ॥
३. संकल्पगरि मयाचितै वाजगासकुलाई मयाचितयो गर्वु जोइसिले पाइ अत्र साचि
४. सुर्यवृन्दसाचि अचितुण्डका साचि रतुण्डका साचि लिणितसाचि मुसुजोइसि
५. भागदत्त जोइसि शुभम् ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा य हरति वसुधरां षष्टिवर्षसु
६. ह्य्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमि ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

नं. १२

यो पत्र मैले वफांग मेलविसीना तत्कोटका जङ्ग वहादुरसिंहका घरमा देखेको हुँ । यो पत्र नेपाली कागजमा (हरिताल लगाई) सुरक्षात र नयाँ जस्तै छ । यसको माथामा वट्टा जुम्लाको प्रतिनिधित्व गरेको पाइन्छ । अक्षर लेखिए तर्फ यस पत्रलाई हरिताल लगाई राखिएको हुनाले भरखरै लेखेको जस्तो पनि मान पर्दछ । तर यस्तो चिठी आजकल चीनवाट लेखिन असंभव छ । राजाचक्रसुदर्शनशाहको सक्कली ह्वाफलेनै यो पत्र पुरानो भएको ठहर्छ । ह्वाप रातो हुनाले लालमोहर भन्न सकिने जस्तो भएपनि यो लालमोहर नभएर केवल चिठीमात्र हो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ ।

पाठ

श्री वद्विनाथोजयति

श्रीमुक्तिनाथ सहाय

श्री परमेश्वरः

(हाम्रो)

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री महाराजधिराज चक्रसुदर्शन शाहज्यू... राइस
२. महेश्वरसिंह... हाम्रो मलासुका लि यो छ समाचार
३. कि कृपाले मलो छः तार्हाका समाचार
४. मला चाहन्नुः विशेषराजा राइमा मंडारि सायुराजा
५. पुग्या समाचार पाश्रुः सुन्तोक मान्युः हुम्लिका अर्थ
६. सुनः हाम्रो वचन मानौः आफ्नु प्रद्धा राखौः वोल
७. विंति गरौः भन्या होलिः असाजका दिन आपुजीय

८. क्षेत्रपुर तिमिले पुगनु चाईदो कः ज्यामथसावसि

९. गर्नुहोला याई वसिहोला:

१०. शुभमस्तु:

मूलको टिप्पणी

१. डा. तुलसी राम वैद्य, 'भ्वायस अफ हिस्ट्री सण्ड III' जाजरकोटको राजा हरिशाह, त्रि.वि.वि. इतिहास विभाग, काठमाण्डू, २०३४ ।
२. देवकान्त पन्त, 'होटेली लोक साहित्य एक अध्ययन, नेपाल एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, कीर्तिपुर, २०३२ ।
३. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'कर्णाली प्रदेश एक विटो अध्ययन, कर्णाली प्रदेशको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, काठमाण्डू, २०२८ ।
४. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'टेकवहादुर श्रेष्ठ, जुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, नेपाल र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, कीर्तिपुर, काठमाण्डू, २०३२ ।
५. नरहरिनाथ योगी, 'इतिहास प्रकाशमा सन्धिपत्र संग्रह भाग १, वाराणसी, २०२२ ।
६. डा. प्रयागराज शर्मा, 'प्रिलिमिनरी स्टडीज अफ द आर्ट याण्ड आर्किटेक्चर अफ द कर्णाली बेसिन्, वेष्ट नेपाल, सि.एन.आर.एस्. पेरिस, १९७२ (ई) ।
७. मोहनप्रसाद खनाल, 'मध्यकालीन अभिलेख, काठमाण्डू, २०३० ।
८. सत्यमोहन जोशी, 'कर्णाली लोक संस्कृति सण्ड १ इतिहास, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, काठमाण्डू, २०२८ ।



Book Review

Casper J. Miller: Faith-Healers in the Himalayas, CNAS, Kirtipur 1979, Rs. 52.

Full moon time is shaman time. Amongst many of the Himalayan societies one can find a marked connection between these calendrical dates and the activities of the traditional magico-religious healers, generally known as *jhānkri*. Most of them are initiated when the moon is full, many receive then their first vocational calls and tests. And many perform at such times healing seances, rites related to their paraphernalia or to their professional ancestors. Also on such dates *jhankris* assemble.

One fixed occasion for such gatherings is the *jātrā*, the pilgrimage to a holy place. In the Nepalese hills these *jātrā* are numerous and display some common features, worth a moment's attention. Most of them are held at high altitude locations, where a lake, a pond or a well is to be found: a source of water on a top. They are usually far beyond any human settlement, yet often equally distant from surrounding valleys, in which people from different local or ethnic groups have their habitual dwellings. They are, topographically, ideal inter-ethnic meeting grounds, for they are neutral territory. Being 'elevated', they cost the visitors some effort to reach, and this is part of the merit one gains from a pilgrimage: a pilgrimage requires, by its very nature, a physical stake. *Jātrā* are events for the crowds, laymen and officiants, men and women, this tribe or caste and that tribe or caste, events both religious and profane; for the purpose of worshipping can suitably be combined with the desire for fun. For the ethnographer's record I here present a list of some such *jātrā*-meeting grounds, which I have heard of or seen, mainly located in the northern hill regions of Nepal. They may differ in their individual object of worship, but constitute a homogeneous class in that they are frequented at certain full moon dates by pilgrim crowds of diverse populations, whose guides are shamans, drumming their way in full gear to the worshippers' destination:

Pāñch Pokhari and Tin Pokhari, on high ridges between Arun and Tamur Kosi, for *rikhitarpani* or *saunpuṇima* (July/August);

Salpa Pokhari on the Mayamdanda ridge, with three lakes at 3500m, for three annual festivals: *dzandipurnima* in *baisakh* (April/May), *rikhitarpani* in *saun* (July/August), *dhanespurnima* in *mangsir* (November/December);

Dudh Kunda in Solu, at a lake above 4600m, also called Omi tsho, for rikhitarpāni or saunpurnima (July/August);

Kalingchok, on the Tamba-Sun-Kosi divide, 3800m, also for janai-purnima in saun (July/August) and two additional, minor festivals;

Gosai Kuṇḍa, south of Langtang Himal, 4400m, for janaipurnima or rikhitarpāni in saun (July/August);

Dupche and Gupteswor, in Central Nepal, in mangsir (November/December) and baisakh (April/May), mainly frequented by Tamang;

Rikeswor or Chumik Chyangchub, near Dāman, at 2700m, for phāgun purnima (February/March);

Jaljale and Nisildhor in Northern Magar territory, for rikhitarpāni in saun (July/August).

It may be added that these jātrā-locations are neither unilaterally reserved for devotees of one religion, Hindu, Buddhist or local, nor for one single deity, even though a certain predominance for the worship of Mahādev (Siva) can be registered.

The overall pattern of similarity and the sheer frequency of such high altitude jātrā - the above list does in no way claim to be representative - suggest that they indeed reflect features of common religious customs in the Nepalese hills. One may wonder, therefore, why anthropologists have so far neglected to study them at any length. One of the reasons may be the self-protective provincialism, with which some of the foreign researchers reduce the scope of their work to THEIR tribe or THEIR village, shutting out everything that happens outside this limit. Or these events seem too casual to form material for extensive description. Casper Miller, S.J., in his first book: Faith-Healers in the Himalayas destroys such objections. His study deals expressly with these jātrā, attended by multi-tribal crowds, guided by their respective jhānkri. It is precisely the cross-boundary scope of Miller's view that makes his book an original contribution to our knowledge of Himalayan shamanism.

Miller has chosen the region of Dolakha/Charikot district as his area of investigation, whereto he undertook several journeys between 1974 and 1978. Here, he observed and described with precision, with a feeling for the significance of little events and with sound judgement three types of jātrā: the great janaipurnima jātrā of mount Kalingchok; the Devikot jātrā of Dolakha proper, performed in kārtik (October/November); and the Deolang jātrā, held at a Mahadev-shrine near the Tamang village of Deolang in a side valley

of the Upper Tamba Kosi at swasthāni purnima or full moon of pus (December/January). Each of these jātrā has its own implications and a brief review of their peculiarities may illustrate Miller's achievement.

At Kalingchok, a prominent peak at the Sun Kosi - Tamba Kosi divide, the main deity worshipped is Kālī, as the place name clearly indicates (kāli - cok = square of Kālī or Black Durga). Almost equal in rank is the worship of Mahādev or Siva, as can be guessed from the many thousand attributive tridents, stuck to the shrine and accumulated over the decades. Other names of deities mentioned in connection with the holy place are Lakṣmi (goddess of Wealth), Saraswati (goddess of Learning) and Setidevi (probably Satī, an avatar of devi and wife of Siva).

The diversity of pilgrims who come to this place to pay their annual, ceremonial visit (darsan garne) to the mentioned deities on the full moon of saun, is great: Miller has encountered Tamang, Sherpa, Thami, Brahmin, Chetri, Newar, Jirel, Damai, Kami, Sarki and Magar, - in this order of quantification. And saun, in the depth of the monsoon, is, according to the author, the right time to do so: saun is generally considered as the period when illness and death most frequently strike the population, for it is then that the gods are absent, gone on a journey to the underworld. To go on this pilgrimage and to offer them gifts of rice, flowers, incense, coins and trisul in the main shrine called Bhagawati Kuṇḍa is to remind these deities of their protective obligations. At another shrine nearby, consisting of two stones, blood sacrifices are made by the jhānkri and their assistants, apparently to appease such blood-thirsty supranaturals as sikāri (The Hunters) and ban jhānkri (non-human shamans of the jungle with a rich repertoire in black magic). And the shamans themselves beg for power or strength: "bal māgnu parcha."

During his participation at the jātrā of Kalingchok, Miller witnessed one of those legendary competitive battles between two jhānkri, which have a long and widespread folklore tradition and whose enticing shamanist yarn knits these pilgrimages into an attractively magical web. What Miller saw lacked the splendor of such wellknown contests between magicians such as Milarepa vs. Naro Bonchung about the hegemony over Mt. Kailas, the former flying on sunrays to the top or Padmasambhava vs. Tusur Bon, the First Tamang shaman, about their respective professional monopolies. Miller saw no shamans riding through the sky or falling dead on the spot, pierced by poisoned, magical arrows, - the dispute he witnessed concerned a plain copper vessel, - but a contest it was, nevertheless, for it had a winner and a loser. And power was manifested in it: the power of insulting words and daring gestures. And this is shamanism at the grip of reality.

The second jātrā described involves not so much jhānkri, as it does another group of media: men who become vessels or vehicles of a deity. The scene is Dolakha, perhaps the most fascinating ancient Newar town in Eastern Nepal.

The central event in the Devikot jātrā at Dolakha, named after the Devikot temple in the northern section of the town, is the enactment of a legendary plot, in which Bhagawati - is it Tripura Sundari? - travels the world in pursuit of wicked giants (raksas), which she destroys one after the other, until she encounters a demon called Raktabir, who poses some problems. For this demon, whenever slain by the sword of the goddess, multiplies into as many new demons as blood drops fall to the ground. There is only one solution to the dilemma: the dropping blood has to be gathered before it touches the ground. And this is done, in the legend, by some attendant-servants, (gaṇ), who drink the dripping blood. In the annual enactment of the story amongst the Dolakha Newar, this distasteful job is bestowed on Thami, members of a small ethnic group, a minority, living scattered in some villages north of the sophisticated Newar townspeople.

The blood-drinkers in the religious play are called nari and are, once chosen by the goddess for this role, attached to it for life. They are instructed by the main jhānkri of their tribal village in the art of shaking (kāṃnu) and in some basic esoteric knowledge (gyān buddhī). According to their own traditional interpretation of the act, the nari understand themselves as vessels or vehicles of the goddess, who, without their participation, would not come at all and would, therefore, withhold the beneficial results of the story's enactment. In fact, they say: 'The goddess drinks the blood through us herself; she mounts and rides us, while we are in the extatic phase of drinking the sacrificial blood (of two buffaloes) at the temple of Devikot; that's why we stand with our backs to her shrine. We are her thāpanā ... embodiment, and therefore the Newar need us.'

The Newar, on the other hand, interpret the role of the Thami nari in a depreciatory manner. For them the Thami are low caste in the first place, savages, whereas they are the Herrenrasse. And the nari in particular are termed by the Newar as betāl: demons, goblins, vampires, for everyone who drinks blood must be a demon. Instead of being grateful to the nari for helping perform the religious play, the haughty Newar expel the Thami assistants from the human plane, only because they do, what they are asked to do by their double-tongued employers. This schisma is well described by Miller and the performance of the scene well documented with descriptive words and vital ethnographic photographs. It is, in my view, the best section of the book.

The chapter concludes with a comparison of the relationship that is established between the goddess of Devikot and her devotees with that of mother and son in Nepalese society. The demanding and exclusive character of the former reflects that of the latter. "People cannot be in their religion other than they are in their society." p. 81. One feels to hear a distant echo of Emile Durkheim resounding in these lines.

The third *jātrā* described in Miller's book takes place at a shrine called Deolingeswari Mahādev near the Tamang village of Deolang in the upper Tamba Kosi region. It, too, is connected with a legendary story which, in part, is revived in the proceedings of the festivity. According to one of the legend's versions, a yak cow, belonging to a lama of Rolwaling, three days away from the present site, used to appear miraculously at the Deolingeswar stone to empty regularly its udders there for the god Mahādev, and the first man to discover these secret offerings was a shaman of the area, (a *daṅgur*), who, eyewitnessing the affair, was mounted by the god on his back (*āṅgmā cadhera*) and consequently began to shake. The present day successor of this *jhānkri*, always selected from one particular Tamang clan, is also the exclusive agent of the god Mahādev. Unlike other *jhānkri*, abound in the region, this particular one in fact acts only once a year, i.e. on the Deolang *jātrā*. He never performs any healing seances, called *cintā* = thought, reflection, worry, meditation, care, concern; he has no regular clientele, because he is reserved for the god. Through the *jhānkri*'s embodiment the god transmits his boons to the people. The Deolang *jātrā*, therefore, is a one-*jhānkri* festival.

The main feature of the *jātrā*, which is attended predominantly by Tamang, but also by Sherpa, Thami, Brahmin and Chetri, is the sudden appearance of this shaman, in the night of the festival, at the shrine of Mahādev, where he is crowned with a necklace belonging to that deity. At that time he is furnished with the auratic blessings of beneficial powers attributed to the god: to fecundate living beings, to bring offsprings to the people and their cattle. Touching the shaman in this moment will fulfil, according to popular belief, the people's wishes for progeny. As transmittor of these boons the shaman himself has to remain poor and sonless. He redeems the god's generosity, by being excepted from its benefits, which his compatriots receive from the god through him as the intermediary agent. And this, once more, is an example amongst many that contradicts the widespread opinion about shamans as exploitative quacks.

A concluding chapter in Miller's well-balanced book, entitled *jhānkris and the Jātrā of life*, presents a series of vocational life histories of individual shamans from different ethnic groups and castes: a Kami- and a Chetri-, two Thami- and three Tamang-

jhānkri, calling to mind those pioneer sketches written in the early sixties by Macdonald, Miller's teacher or, as the author wants it, his guru. The Parisean "guru" also wrote the foreword to the book, indicating that he approves of his siṣya.

The final considerations of Faith-Healers in the Himalayas- the manuscript title had been Jhānkris and Jātrās, in my opinion a more appropriate headline for the contents of this publication - are reserved for a pragmatic discussion: what are, or better what could be the relation between traditional Himalayan faith-healing and Western medicine. In the author's opinion, - and an open mind would find it hard to discard it - both forms of approaches to illness have their own merits, one more concerned with psychosomatic, one more with physiological forms of discomfort. It would be very unwise, therefore, to play off one against the other, an attitude not to be feared from the shamans' side, who generally do not consider chemical or chirurgical medicine as a competition to their own magico-religious practices, but rather a desirable complement, although the author doubts, whether shamans would be willing to become active propagators of modern forms of treatment. The eliminative tendencies, then, would stem from those who think that Western medicine ALONE can be beneficial to the ill.

In order to prevent damages thus done to indigenous and ancient forms of coping with disease, Miller suggests: instead of teaching shamans some basic knowledge in scientific methods of diagnosis and treatment, teach the modern doctors - and one would like to add: the decision makers in health programs - some lessons in anthropology, until they begin to respect the shamans and their views and techniques. This is a noble suggestion, but more idealistic, I fear, than the one to win shamans over to additional training in Western medical practices. For the most that could be gained from Miller's proposal is an occasional nod of mutual respect for two otherwise separately practiced approaches. A shaman, however, who would incorporate in his individual work both ways of treatment could certainly become a trailblazing figure in a revolutionary medical experiment, for which China has already provided the model. I know some shamans who would undergo the training ... one has to find the money and those, willing to instruct them; and one has to find the means to supply them later on. A small project in Jhapa, as far as I know, works along these lines. It should be further encouraged.

Miller's book is appended by a glossary of Nepali terms used in the text and three rather craftless and careless sketch maps of the area; one of them claims blasphemically to be derived from an Erwin Schneider map, indeed the appropriate source for those interested in the geographical features of the area in question. (see: E. SCHNEIDER: Tamba Kosi, Lapchi Kang, Rolwaling Himal, all in 1:

50.000 m² and available at the Nepal Research Centre - Goethe House
- Ganabahal - Kathmandu).

The tone of the narration is both humble and strong, sometimes a little simplistic in its Present Tense presentation and the author's position has a Jesuit touch: naturalised, but not gone native.

Michael Oppitz